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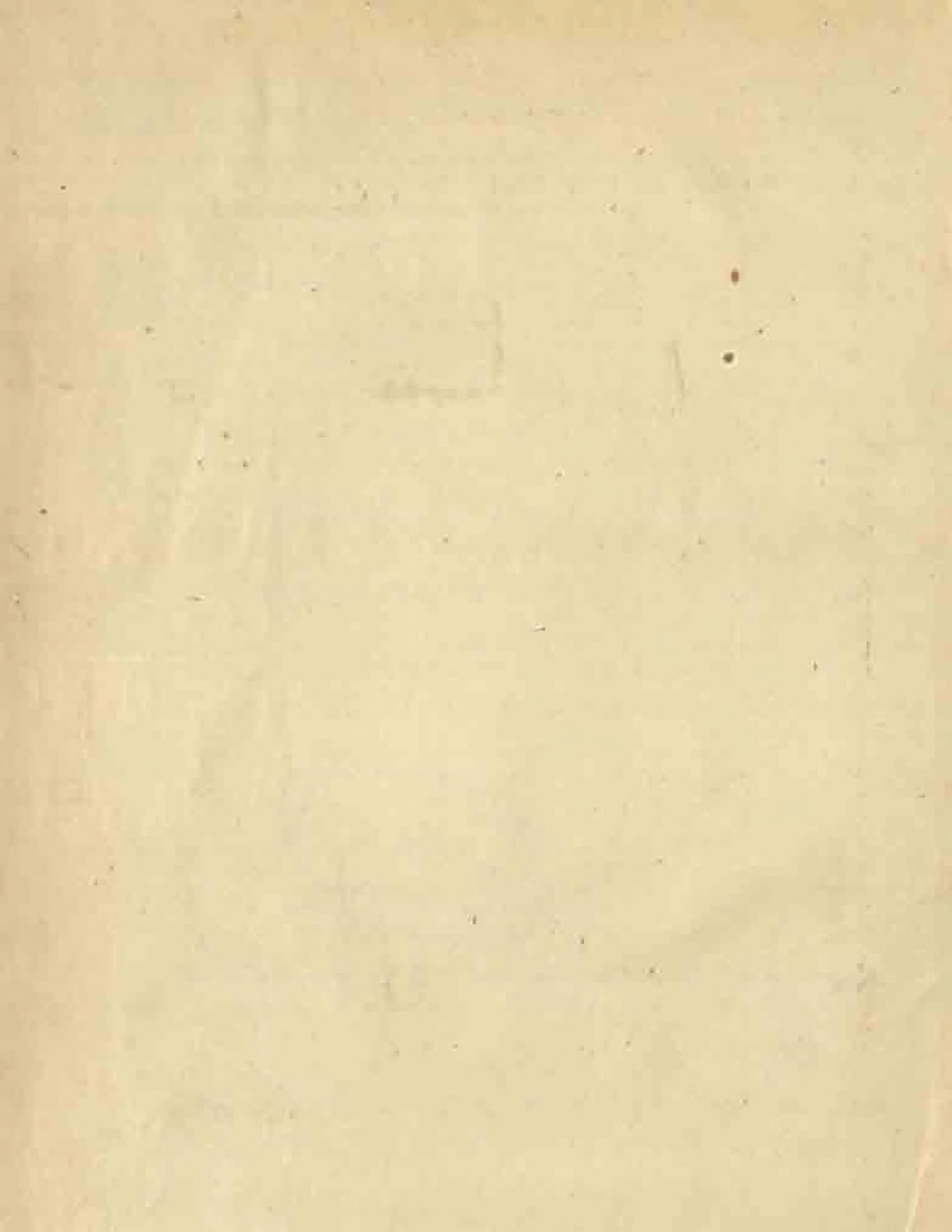
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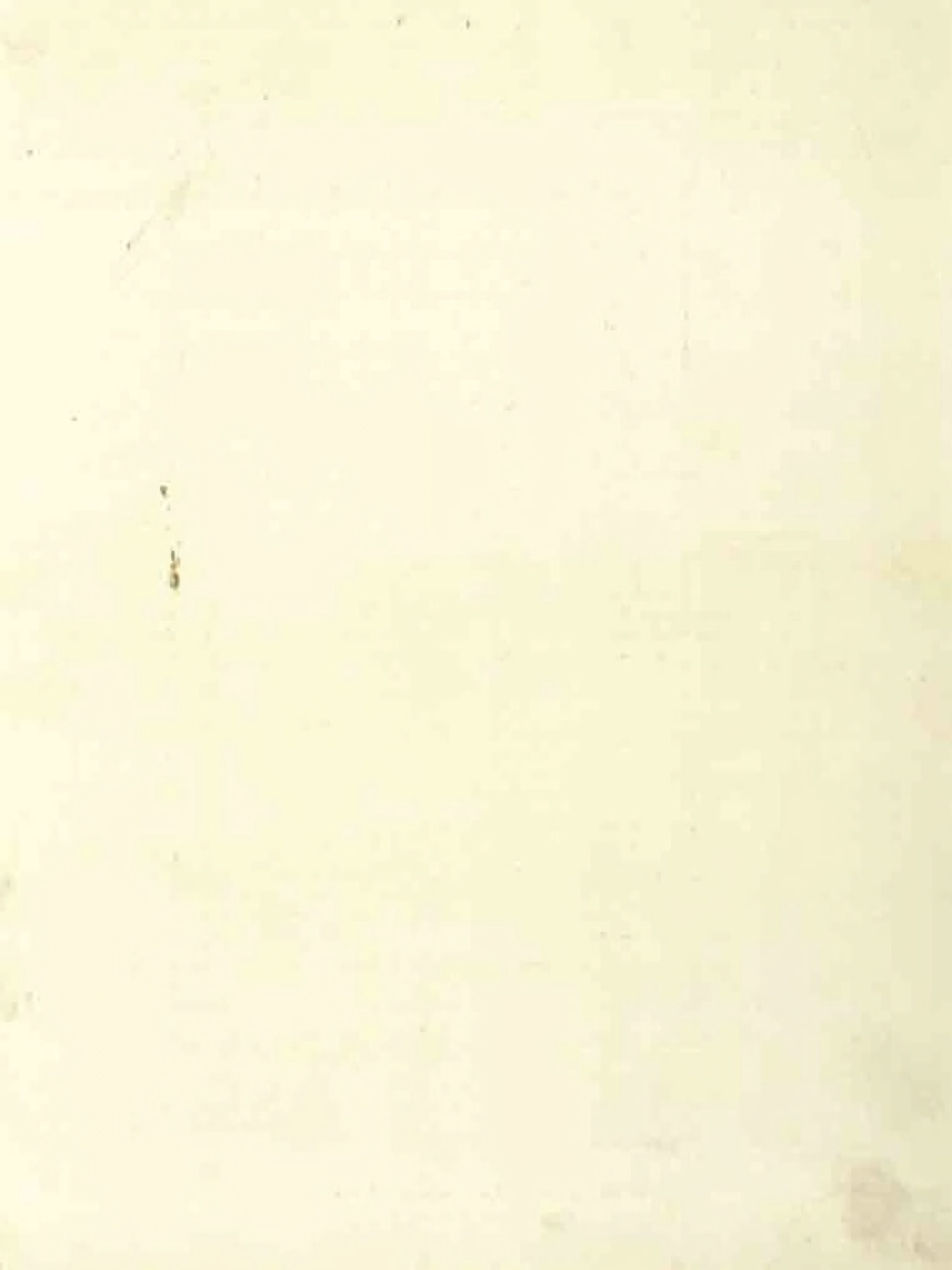
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H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad.
(Photograph by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd.)

Bishop Wilson and the Second Earl of Clare.

A CHAPTER IN THE SECRET HISTORY OF STEAM
NAVIGATION.—(*Concluded*)

LORD CLARE'S indignation at Lord W. Bentinck's abandonment of the plan of sending the mails from Bombay in favour of a scheme for establishing a communication from Calcutta was not unmixed with the fear that Parliament was about to reduce the Governor of Bombay to the rank of a Lieutenant-Governor. The following letter will at least show the nature of Lord Clare's anticipations of the new India Bill which had been before the consideration of Parliament, but the terms of which had not as yet reached India.

PABELL, December 15th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—Two words only on the subject of steam which concerns you and not me, for I shall be far away long before it can be of any real advantage to India.

I find there must be two depôts at Socotra if the steamer stops there, one for the South-West and another for the North-East Monsoon: this, even supposing the place secure, will be costly.

I see Captain Johnson, a practical man, thinks the scheme impracticable. You see it is not approved at Madras, nor will it, I apprehend, in the Upper Provinces. I see but one chance of uniting all India to the Home authorities. Send here the *Forster*: and with the *Hugh Lindsay* commence, as soon as may be, four trips direct to Suez, and, when the overland mails reach Bombay, let them be sent express by any number of *cassids* to Calcutta. Depend upon it you will get your answers much quicker *via* Bombay than *via* Socotra and Galle. I should say it is now too late to start before the next monsoon, but from the first of next October you may keep up a quick communication for eight months with England. I shall be gone, so am quite indifferent on the subject so far as I am concerned, but I throw this out as the only best way of settling this foolish dispute. I shall never cease regretting that the Governor-General committed himself with the Calcutta Committee after his communication to us.

I long for the result of the debates in the Lords on the India Bill, where we all hope here it will be changed considerably. The interference of Bengal at Bombay and Madras will be a vicious system of Government. Who would stay to be called a Governor and (be) in reality a deputy? Better appoint Commissioners.

Your faithful servant,
CLARE.

PARELL, December 22nd, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3rd on the subject—the sad subject—of steam. I can say but little except to repeat to you that as the success depended on Government I shall ever regret that the Governor-General allowed the Calcutta Committee to recede and to sow dissension and disunion in a cause for the success of which the union of all India is indispensable. I fear dust has been thrown in his eyes by Messrs. Greenlaw, McNaghten *et hoc genus omne*. I have read a very sensible letter you have addressed to the Madras Advocate-General. Four-fifths of India, depend upon it, will be against the wild plan of Galle and Socotra. I am surprised at all events that if the Governor-General was determined to sanction the experiment, he did not insist on its being tried in conjunction with Madras and Bombay, so that the *Forbes* and the *Hugh Lindsay* might start alternately from Calcutta and Bombay on these experimented trips. At present, as Lord William has thrown us over, we can make no arrangement with England about letters, and the whole concern is at a standstill. I look upon it as lost.

I am exceedingly amused by an article which I read lately in one of your papers. It gave an awful account of the disastrous state of the Upper Provinces—famine, dissolution, misery, and all manner of horrors afflicting the country and then *pour comble* it added the Tories are coming into office at home, and then—pray, my Lord Bishop, get your salts and sal volatile that you may read what follows—and then, India is to be blessed with Lord Clare as Governor-General and Sir Frederick Adam as Commander-in-Chief. I think this awful intelligence very distressing—don't you my Lord Bishop? But how fortunate I am that instead of marks of astonishment the writer did not put notes of interrogation as was the case when Mrs. Barber Branmont visited Queen Caroline. "Wonderful," said the *Courier*, "but who is she?" I remember when Ellenborough proposed to Mr. Astell, then in the chair of the Court Directors, to send me here, the Sovereign of the East told the President of the Board of Control: "He may make an angel of a Governor, but I protest, my Lord Ellenborough, I never heard of such a person." Luckily there was an Irish Peerage on the table, and Astell was satisfied it was no hoax. Still he required time to consider, and when he left the Board, he went to the House of Commons and began asking questions right and left about me (a fact). "Is he honest, sober, attentive to his business?" Spring Rice and others satisfied him that I had a decent sort of a character, and the next day he told Lord Ellenborough he would propose my name to the Court. It would, however, be a very different question if they wanted to send me to succeed Lord William. An old son and devoted admirer of Mother Church has no chance of promotion now-a-days. Quiet the apprehension of Messrs. Greenlaw and McNaghten, and assure them (the truth) that I am going home early in 1835, if allowed to stay here so long.

I have no news from England later than the end of July, and we are now anxiously looking out for the August ships. The weather is delightful just now. I grieve to see in the papers Lady William has been again unwell.

If you can, pray think charitably of poor Byron. He had a heart—a rare thing in this selfish world.

I cannot in the true chambermaid style wish your Lordship in person "the compliments of the season," but I pray to God that you may succeed in all your plans to enlighten this benighted country, and that you may enjoy health and eternal happiness hereafter.

Believe me, etc.,

CLARE.

PARELL: December 30th, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—On the 30th of December, 1830, I embarked at Casser on board the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer, and as I passed three months on the Red Sea Coast, I have witnessed all the horrors and all the delay of taking in coal. I have besides experienced the violence of the storm and the raging of the sea, in and beyond the Snails: believe me, therefore, at Calcutta you all under-rate the difficulties and imagine the communication can be effected with as great facility as in Europe. I never was more convinced in my life of the little practical knowledge your committee has than by the perusal of a letter sent to us officially yesterday by the Governor-General from Mr. M. Greenlaw to the Bengal Government about directing the Pacha of Egypt to order the Governor of Judda to ship the coals in one day! The idea that a Turk would move one step from his divan and his pipe to give the slightest assistance to European impatience at not receiving their letters! I will tell you what will be the result. Colonel Campbell will address Muhammet Ali, and His Highness will send his orders, and the Governor of Judda will not attend to them. Believe me, we are not much thought of at Judda, the gate of the Holy City. I was there for eight weeks. I came out in a public situation. I had firmans and junissaries from the Pacha. I had every aid from the then Governor of Judda, the most obliging of Turks in authority. He saw my impatience and really did his best to expedite my departure, but we expended three days in doing that which would have been done in six hours in England, and why? We had no proper boats, nor baskets, nor men accustomed to the work, and had you witnessed the men at Judda and seen how they did their work, you would be satisfied first that, if you expect expedition with the shipment of coal, you must have at every depôt an active agent, good boats (sent there and kept in repair), large baskets, and intelligent men, otherwise the Arab fellahs will do their work in the native fashion and you will be disappointed.

I have now done with steam. I have done my best cordially to meet the views of the Governor-General both publicly and privately. He has thrown us over, so it is all in his hands; but, unless I am mistaken, his plan will fail, and I think had he told the Bengal Committee he would not give any aid unless all the committees were united he would have brought them all to their senses. Instead of that, by your letter, he appears to have taken offence at the letter of the Bombay Committee, which, in deciding a matter of great national importance, I do not understand; for really I think their cold (?) letter of no manner of importance. All now, therefore, that I shall do, will be to tell the Court and Board my honest and conscientious opinion that they may as well throw their money into the Red Sea as to give it in furtherance of the Galle and Socotra plan, making Calcutta the starting point; and, as Bombay would gain as much getting from and sending its mails to Socotra and more, I believe than any port in India; if you succeed, the Court will at least give me credit for sincerity. So now, my dear Lord Bishop, wishing you, the Governor-General, Messrs. Greenlaw and McNaghten all manner of success, and that I may write to your Lordship from England in 1835 and receive your answer *via* Suez, Socotra, Galle, and Calcutta by steam in the course of the same year, and that I may never hear one word more on the subject.

Believe me, etc.,
CLARE.

The following letter is described by Bishop Wilson as "my public letter of Dec. 21." This will account for its official tone.

TO THE RT. HON. THE LORD CLARE

PALACE, CALCUTTA.

December 21st, 1853.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am much distressed at the position in which the whole question of the steam communication now appears to stand. My object, as your Lordship knows, from the first has been to act as a minister of peace. Judging of the facts with best deliberation within my power, and proceeding in every step with the cognizance of those best able to advise me, I had hoped to see everything take an amiable course. I need not say I know nothing of personal jealousies, newspaper squabbles, minute controversies. My desire was, and is, to aid by such counsel as it might be proper for a minister of the Gospel to suggest, the great design of uniting India and England, and opening the channel of all those civil, moral and religious benefits which a speedy intercourse may pour throughout this vast country. These feelings urged me to come forward in June, and up to the receipt of the reply of the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee of October 10th, I had the fullest persuasion that all was going on well. I had no more idea that the proposals of the Governor-General would have been declined than of the most incredible thing imaginable, and for this plain reason that I knew the success of the permanent communication must be dependent on Government, whose good will and munificent offers I conceived all India would rejoice to acknowledge.

I can assure your Lordship that the most cordial co-operation with the Bombay Committee, the firmest adherence to the plan of starting from that port, and the collation of our funds for the uncontrolled use of that respectable body would have followed the frank acceptance of the Governor-General's proposition. Had difficulties arisen in the development and execution of the plan, they would never have led us for a moment to diverge from the confidence we should have reposed in the Bombay gentlemen.

In what way, then, did the Bombay reply of October 10th disturb this harmony? And the union being now declined, what course can now best be pursued? These are the questions on which I would have the honour of submitting a thought or two for your Lordship's consideration.

The reply of the gentlemen of Bombay disturbed, and necessarily disturbed the harmony which prevailed and the expectations of co-operation which had been excited, because (1) it almost passed over the main point of the Calcutta proposal—the offer of the Supreme Government and the recommendation home. This was the point on which all turned. To have cast ourselves into the arms of the Supreme Government, and act upon the munificent offer made, was not only our interest, but our wisdom. The Bombay letter proceeds on the supposition of the Governor-General's recommendation home being rejected. It may be rejected undoubtedly, and nothing so likely to produce such a result as distrust and suspicion, but, surely the least measure of prudence should have led dependent and helpless bodies like three Presidency Committees to have hailed with acclamation the offers of a Supreme Government, which, by proposing a defined and temporary and (compared with the object) petty bonus, insured the compliance of the Home authorities, however they might have declined, and justly declined an undefined, enormous and permanent charge.

But, secondly, the reply of the Bombay gentlemen retained the joint stock scheme, a prompt and decided suspension of which at least was judged, and is now judged essential to a safe co-operation. Indeed, our primary resolution of June bound our Committee to enter

into no such obligations, which I am instructed to say cannot be evaded by the plan of making contributions under the form of gifts, but must be decidedly abandoned for a time, in order to render secure the property and interests of those who may be concerned. This one point is an insuperable objection in the eye of our Committee and all commercial gentlemen in this presidency to co-operation.

The Calcutta Committee's proposition, as respects the plan recommended by the Supreme Government, and on which the offer of aid depended, was declined in the Bombay reply. A quarterly communication was the proposition; a statement of the particular capabilities of the *Hugh Lindsay* was the reply. The grand principle of our Supreme Governor's offer was to establish a communication once a quarter. The amount of the reply was—such a particular vessel cannot perform it. Whereas had the main offer been acceded to (the Governor-General's aid accepted and the bonus reckoned on as a matter of just expectation), all would have flowed on smoothly. I mean, of course, if the joint stock scheme had been first decidedly suspended; and though the *Hugh Lindsay* had been found to be incapable of more than a single trip, nothing distressing or injurious to the co-operation would have arisen. But a cold reluctant offer of three distant trips in the course of some eighteen or twenty months, instead of a warm and ready compliance with the principle of an instant quarterly intercourse, appeared, I confess to my mind, not only a negation of our proposal, but a demonstration of the impracticability of our working together as Committees at all.

The question in fact put to the Committee by the secretary of your Lordship: "whether the proposal of the Calcutta Steam Committee respecting the employment of the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* was rejected by the committee at Bombay?" should have stood, as I humbly suggested, thus: "whether the proposal of opening a quarterly communication between Bombay and Suez, on the footing of the total suspension of the joint stock scheme and of the efficient aid offered by the Governor-General in Council and recommended by his Lordship to the Home Authorities, was rejected by the Bombay Committee." This comprehensive question would have brought out the adequate reply, which the more narrow one was scarcely likely to do.

Fourth, I do not enter on the question of funds, though our gentlemen here are unanimous, I believe, in thinking that this part of our proposal, namely, of uniting the subscriptions and contributions could not be said to be complied with, when your own division of them was to be kept in reserve for the execution of your own previous scheme, after the anticipated failure of the Governor-General's recommendation home should have occurred.

Such is my impression of the several respects in which the answer of the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee disturbed that harmony of action which would, on our part, have proceeded uninterruptingly to the accomplishment of the communication between Bombay and Suez; and I mention these merely to convince your Lordship that no party feelings or partial views have governed our conduct. I am sure, as to myself, I should rejoice at this moment, abstractedly speaking, to start our plan from Bombay. I regret, and have never ceased to regret, that the reply of that committee has precluded our active co-operation in that primary design. Nor have I the slightest doubt of the purity of the motives of all the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee as well as of our own. Differences of opinion are so common between bodies, however respectably placed, or great distance, and especially when one has had the distinguished merit of originating a plan, which is the case now with the Bombay Committee, to which it naturally adheres and expects others to adhere, with equal tenacity, that I attribute the breach of union, rather to the circumstances of the case, than to any misapprehension of our mutual intentions.

The question which remains now is: *What is to be done?* I conceive the only practicable way is for the funds of the Bombay and Madras Committees to be employed, as is suggested in the close of the letter to your Lordship, in running a vessel between Bombay and Socotra, to fall in with our course to and from Suez. The decision of our Governor-General in Council is definitive. Our committee felt only too happy in acceding to the generous and prompt offer. Nothing now can arise to impede (if our subscribers concur in the resolutions which will be submitted to them, which it is presumed they will rejoice to do) the attempt to open the communication on this enlarged and new scheme. In the meantime we have the fullest confidence that the bonus of £20,000 for five years will be granted at home. Indeed the intimations of such a result are so numerous, that the Governor-General has thought it right, as might be expected, to declare that his recommendation was dependent on the determination of the Home Government. Two demi-official articles have appeared in the London newspapers, in addition the open declaration of the late President, Lord Ellenborough in his place in Parliament, which led to the persuasion that the measure is already under the consideration of the ministers of the Crown, and will only require the tidings of the subscriptions and efforts here to ripen into fixed acquiescence in the moderate and wise proposal of our noble Governor-General.

In regard to our own funds, we have sufficient for the three trips of the next year in May, August and November, or rather I should say for the attempt, for Government must after all establish the permanent steam communication till commercial enterprise has time to mark its success and calculate its cautious gains. Our funds in India can only make a demonstration. Whether that experiment succeeds or fails, our ultimate support from home is equally sure. England will take us up only with greater warmth, when our means are exhausted, and incorporate our design amongst the national institutions. Nor can I regret, as a whole, the course which things have taken, when I consider that long after the slight differences of feeling have subsided, a double experiment will have been accomplished—one already ascertained, of the practicability of rapid steam communication between Bombay and Suez; the other now by circumstances prematurely put forward, of the practicability of a similar communication between Calcutta and Suez. The first complete for purposes of a post, but failing necessarily, as respects a large proportion of India, for passengers, packets, and freight. The other adequate, commensurate with the extent of the regions it traverses, and furnishing an experiment of the highest importance at this particular juncture.

It remains to calm all agitated feelings, to unite the hearts of those who, from diversities of judgment, are pursuing separate courses, to dismiss all past controversy, to allow to each other the honourable motives which I am sure direct all, to co-operate in all those subordinate points where our several schemes will still converge for the general good and the permanent establishment, around the whole of our vast peninsula, of this magnificent project. Before the gigantic magnitude of that project, our dwarfish misapprehension shrink into insignificance, and we have only to transport ourselves in imagination to a distance of fifty years to convince ourselves with what indifference we shall look back on the temporary divergences of opinion which terminated in so great a success. Yes, my Lord, I speak of success with no hesitating voice. For when I consider the multiplied and important interests involved in a speedy communication with England, and which seem all waiting, as it were, for the moment of starting from the goal, when I remember the lofty character Englishmen and their enterprising skill in the arts, and when I call to mind the mass of human happiness implicated in the application of the steam discovery to India and her almost unnumbered millions, I cannot doubt that this boon will be cheerfully

granted us by a generous nation; and that you, my Lord, with our Governor-General, Sir Frederick Adam and the gentlemen of our several Steam Committees, will rejoice in having expended on a demonstration followed by such results our munificent local subscriptions, which have amounted to a larger sum, have embraced a greater number of subscribers, and have been marked with a brighter dawn of public spirit in the princes and native gentry throughout the peninsula than has distinguished any other project of public utility with which, I believe, the history of India is illustrated.

I will conclude, my Lord, the long letter when I have solicited your forgiveness personally for the strength of my language and the warmth of my feeling personally on this subject for which my only apology is the sincere conviction that of all secular benefits that can be conferred on the region committed to my spiritual superintendence, no one bears so directly on the moral and religious welfare of the crowded inhabitants, as that which facilitates the progress of all improvements and the rise of all projects of an elevated and beneficent character, however wide in extent, diversified in object, or permanent and magnificent in effects.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient and humble servant,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

PARELL, 8th January, 1834.

TO THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have this moment received your letter of the 21st instant with its enclosure which shall be duly sent to the several members of our committee, that, as I informed your Lordship in my last letter, done with steam. All, therefore, that I can say is, I sincerely hope I may be mistaken in the opinion I entertain of the total failure of the Caffe and Socotra plan. All India is interested in its success, and Bombay to the full as much as Calcutta. I never bet, but allow me for once (very wrong I admit) to ask your Lordship to allow me to bet you a quarter of a rupee (Bombay)—such a pretty new coin just struck at our Mint (I send a specimen) that if your steamer ever reaches Socotra from Sum next September, a sailing vessel will bring news to Calcutta from that island quicker *and* Bombay than you will receive it direct by your steamer? If your Lordship says done, you must not tell the Governor-General and Lady William; they will be so shocked.

We are now enjoying delightful weather, and I should like much before I leave India to enjoy the society of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. This, I fear, is out of question, as fifteen months hence I hope to have left the shores of the East forever.

Lord Dover's last work is exceedingly entertaining. I fear the world is as bad now as it was in the days of the second George.

Your Lordship's, etc.,
CLARE.

How is Lady William? I do not like the accounts I hear at all.

The next allusion on the part of the Bishop to steam communication occurs in a letter addressed to Sir Wilmot Horton, at that time Governor of Ceylon. The letter is dated "February 8th, 1834."

The new Charter sets all afloat on a new tide of hope. I think it does Mr. Grant infinite credit. My expectations, I confess, are sanguine of ultimate good to India, if the

new bishops and the clergy and missionaries can but impregnate the mass of rising intelligence with Christian principles.

Then the steam-communication (which has been nearly ruined by the Bombay gentlemen, but which we will not allow to drop) will come in to crown the whole, by giving means of rapid intercourse. Conceive only, dear Sir, of 23 letters received from my children, the average time has been 124 days, the shortest to time has been 114 days, and the longest 203.

My health continues quite good—not a day's sickness for 16 months, but so deteriorated are my mind and body, and so decayed my strength, that I am the shadow only of a man. India exhausts and then destroys.

Our noble Governor-General is gone to Madras. He is an admirable pattern of independence, diligence, vigour, love of justice, firmness, impartiality, habits of business, promptitude, and if he were but more of a Churchman and less of a Whig, he would be nearly perfect, but *nihil est ad omni parte beatum*. India will never see his like, in my opinion.

Yours most faithful, etc.,

DANIEL WILSON,

P.S.—I know nothing of the new Bishops, except that the admirable and amiable Archdeacon Corrie will be one.

TO THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

PARELL, February 10th, 1834.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—All that I can say to your Lordship in reply to your kind communication about steam is that I heartily wish you success in your Calcutta and Socotra plan: but, not approving of it and conceiving that a prior engagement was made by the Governor-General with the Bombay Committee which has been, to say the least of it, most unaccountably abandoned by his Lordship, I have but one course left, and that is to make my bow and retire. I cannot change my opinion, because the Bombay Committee on 10th of last October wrote a foolish letter, nor can I understand why the said misave caused such bad humour at Calcutta, which has led in my opinion to the most disastrous consequences. For at present the supreme Government and the Calcutta Committee, the Bombay Government and the Bombay Committee are urging separate courses on the attention of the Home authorities, instead of being united in promoting the undertaking by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether. The Governor-General, in his anger against our Committee, quite forgot that the Bombay Government has for years been labouring to establish a steam communication between this port and Suez. I cannot, therefore, but think that, according to the usual courtesy observed between public men, we, I mean this Government, ought not to have been suddenly thrown over by the Governor-General to please Messrs. McNaghten and Greenlaw, the more particularly because the Court has on all occasion desired us to communicate with Bengal on the subject, because we have always so communicated, and because most certainly, both in public and in private, I have tried on this and all occasions to meet the wishes of the Governor-General. Believing therefore as I do, that the general interests of India have on this occasion been sacrificed to the local interests of Calcutta, and knowing that the Upper Provinces, Bombay, Central India, and I believe Madras espouse our cause, I cannot but think that an undue weight has been given by the Governor-General to the proceedings at Calcutta, and that the hundred gentlemen who attended the late meeting did not express the general opinion of India on the subject. I have been obliged to make this

explanation because you state the change in my conduct is unaccountable. Pardon me : I have never changed. The Governor-General has, why he knows best. I remain fixed and immovable, but with precisely the same opinions on which I acted when we all started together. I assure you when I differ in opinion from you and the Governor-General, I do so with great diffidence in my own judgment and with deep regret ; but as I never changed, all I can say is, as a public man, I must have better reason for changing my opinion of the superiority of Bombay over Calcutta as the starting point for the steamer than any which I have yet seen in print. If I can supply you with any information, pray employ me, and, you may depend upon it, I shall obey the Governor-General's orders to the letter and [the] spirit of my instructions. Pray continue to me your Lordship's friendship and correspondence.

I have asked to be relieved, and if I can manage it, hope to avail myself of Sir John Gore's kind offer and go home next year in the *Malville*. After next April, I can do no good at Bombay.

I rejoice to hear Lady William is well again. Pray do not keep her and Lord William too long in India.

Believe me, etc.,

CLARE.

THE PALACE, CALCUTTA,

17th January 1834.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—We are all grieved and afflicted at your letters. We know your honourable mind. We are confident of your excellent judgment and your public spirit. I am personally most indebted to your Lordship's condescension and friendship to one who is a mere stranger. On the great steam question, I went hand in hand with you at first, and I feel now just the same unbiassed, frank, earnest desire to second all your wishes.

But what can I say? From a certain date, all your notes have assumed a new direction and tenor, which are to me inexplicable.

May I yet hope that my public letter of December the 21st, and my public speech of January 7th, and the resolutions of the public meeting, particularly that inserted by Sir J. P. Grant, will yet convince your generous, candid mind of my own sincerity, and of Lord William's straightforward and necessary line of conduct.

If, however, all these documents fail to convince you, allow me to entreat of you to consider, for the cause's sake, that :

(1) The new Calcutta plan was forced upon the Governor-General by the refusal of the Bombay Committee of October 10th— at least in our apprehension—our minds being all unbiassed, and not only unbiassed but disposed to read with candour and friendliness all that that respectable body should address to us.

(2) The refusal consisted in the whole letter (a) declining the magnanimous offer of the Governor-General, (b) declining a frank suspension for the time of the Joint Stock plan and (c) going off upon the details of the *Hugh Lindsay*, the fairy trips of which vessel were minutely arranged to (d) disappoint all hopes of co-operation on our part.

(3) The Governor-General and the Calcutta Committee, being thus thrown over-board, gained another shore, and constructed, like ship-wrecked mariners, the best raft they could for escaping the sea. This raft has turned out better than the original vessel. We are now aboard the new vessel and afloat for ourselves.

Upon this, your Committee began to cry out: upbraid, charge with ill temper and selfishness, etc., etc. In other words, our new plan is the Governor-General's assurance after the refusal sent him of the original one by your own body.

(4) Our new plan has been proposed, digested, laid before the subscribers, accepted.

Nothing can change our Governor-General's mind on this head, nor ought it, in my humble opinion. It would be worse than weakness to place ourselves a second time in the power of a number of gentlemen who have rejected us once and may oscillate again, if we should betray childish indecision now.

(5) It remains, as to this year of experiment and demonstration that our feelings should be harmonised, our bickerings extinguished, and that we should all co-operate, so far as we can, upon the new project.

It is not for me to suggest anything to your Lordship, but I would venture to say that if the Bombay Committee were to solicit the Bombay Council to run the *Hugh Lindsay* in May, August and November; to meet us at Socotra, all would be harmonised at once.

Or, if the Bombay Committee would write at once to your Lordship, and beg their subscriptions might be placed in the hands of the Governor-General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, for executing a joint expedition this year, possibly that might be better still.

I have no authority for saying this. I have not even mentioned it to a single soul, but generous frankness, when a misapprehension has arisen, is the truest policy.

(6) Whatever comes of this year of demonstration, the permanent plan with the two lace for five years, was always designed to comprehend in an adequate and harmonious system the wants of the three presidencies, nor is it at all improbable that the authorities at home may recur to the first and simpler essay of Bombay, defective as that would be, to passengers, parcels, and freight for Calcutta, and for all our part of the Peninsular, China, etc.

(7) Lastly, allow me to assure your Lordship that our minds—I mean the Governor-General's, Mr. Greenlaw's, Mr. McNaghlen's, my own—are as free at this instant from excitement and prejudice and as open to the fair claims of Bombay as even you could desire. And very soon all this will appear clear as the noon-day sun. In the meantime, I have written to England, and put the Government in full possession of all the Governor-General's wishes all along, and have sent a copy of my public letter to your Lordship of 21st December.

With England will rest the decision how the five years' permanent plan shall be tried and there I cheerfully leave the cause.

Grant me only your continued friendship, and I am content to suffer in your opinion of my understanding, and to subscribe myself

Ever your most affectionate,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY, April 15th, 1834.

THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have only time to tell you the *Hugh Lindsay* arrived this morning with important despatches for us all. I have sent them to Ootacamund and Madras, and I enclose you a private letter from Captain Upton. I have but little private news in my letters of the 20th of January. The Court sent us out these despatches overland

by a Lieutenant Lake in despair at all vessels having been detained for nearly three months in the channel by contrary winds. Our new Governor General sailed on the 15th of February. I have *Galipault* to the 18th February, which are gone to the newspapers. You will soon see the King's speech which says but little. Portugal and Belgium still unsettled. I grieve to say I have lost my dear friend Lord Grenville. The Duke of Wellington is Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

In haste,
Your Lordship's etc.,
CLARE.

The following is an extract from the last of the series of Bishop Wilson's letters to Lord Clare which we have been able to find :

Please to forward my respects to our excellent Archdeacon. I wish he were to be raised also to the mitre ; but our masters will do as they please. Our *Forster* sailed April 10th and will be back, as we hope, by the end of June. The steam plan must succeed, whether your Lordship's or the Governor-General's in the first instance is of little consequence. Three month's detention in the English Channel is too bad.

With best compliments,
I remain,
Your most obedient,
DANIEL CALCUTTA.

In regard to the Captain Johnson so frequently mentioned in this correspondence, it may be worth while to print here the inscription on the monument erected to his memory at St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore.

[CREST]

[Motto : Light thieves all.]

IN MEMORY OF

JAMES HENRY JOHNSON,

Commander, R. N.,

CONTROLLER OF THE STEAM DEPARTMENT, H. E. I. C. S.,

Who died at Sea, near to the Cape of Good Hope, on the 5th of May 1851,

AGED 63.

After twelve years of varied service in the Royal Navy,

His career of usefulness in India commenced in 1817 :

HE CONDUCTED TO CALCUTTA

THE FIRST STEAM-SHIP, THE "ENTERPRISE," IN 1825 :

*And the River-Steamers, Steam-Foundry, Dock Yard, and School of
Engineers.*

All originated and organised by himself,
 Are lasting monuments of his attractive talents,
 Fertile resource, public zeal, and unwearied personal energy
 His end was Perfect Peace.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit,
 for they rest from their labours." *Rev. C. xii. 14.*

This inscription betrays, we venture to think, the touch of Bishop Wilson's pen. It is a misfortune that the tablet does not record Johnson's service at Trafalgar.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.



Boyle of Arrah.

A DEAD MUTINY HERO AND HIS EXPLOIT.

(FROM THE *Daily Telegraph*.)



DURING the early days of January, the death was announced in London, in his eighty-seventh year, of Mr. Richard Vicars Boyle, C.S.I., the hero of the defence of the "Little House at Arrah" in the Mutiny days. No more gallant exploit marked that fateful year, and the fame of the brave handful of Englishmen and Sikhs, who withstood the onslaught of three regiments of Sepoy infantry, is enshrined for all time in the vivid pages of Sir George Trevelyan's "Competition-Wallah." But the story is worth recalling to-day, if there is to be any meaning in the adjuration to "praise famous men" which falls so familiarly on the ear at every University and College commemoration.

The outbreak of the Mutiny in the summer months of 1857 found Boyle who was an engineer by profession, in local charge at Arrah in Northern Bengal of the construction work of the East Indian Railway, which was then in running order only as far as Rancegunge, the present centre of the Bengal coal-field. There was every reason to expect the upheaval which took place at Arrah, for the district contained a large Rajpoot population, from which the army was mainly recruited, and especially the 40th Native Infantry, then quartered close by at Dinapore. Moreover, the leading landowner, Koor Singh, was a man utterly ruined by mismanagement and extravagance and with no hope of recovery except by the advent of a "new order" and the annihilation of his creditors. When therefore the three sepoy regiments of the Dinapore garrison mutinied, he easily persuaded them to delay their march to Delhi and join their relatives and friends in attempting the destruction of the little body of Englishmen in Arrah.

But the little body of Englishmen in Arrah were not so easily overcome. They had prudently despatched the ladies and children to Dinapore when the rumours of disaffection had first reached their ears; and on news being received of the movements of the mutineers, they shut themselves up in a small whitewashed building in the "compound" or enclosure of what is now the Judge's House but was then Boyle's own bungalow. This building, which was used as a billiard-room and may be seen to this day, stands at a distance of some fifty yards from the main house. Its basement consists of cellars with open arches some four or five feet in height. A staircase in the interior leads to a single room surrounded on three sides by a verandah. The flat housetop is reached by a ladder and is protected

by a parapet, but it is entirely commanded by the roof of the neighbouring building, from which the porch stands out like a bastion.

Rude entrenchments were run up by Boyle. The cellars were bricked up and a store of provisions laid in : and into this frail ark the gallant little band retreated "before the flood of anarchy and sedition should engulf everything around." The story of the siege was left on record by Herwald Wake, the Magistrate of the district, who by virtue of his office took command of the garrison. It was in Wake's own words, "written with the stump of a pencil on the wall above the fireplace of our solitary living-room, at any moment that could be spared, in case we should be scragged." As for the garrison, it was composed, firstly of 50 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's Police battalion, and their water-carrier and cook and, secondly, of fifteen Europeans and Eurasians, officials of all grades and railway servants, and one Mahomedan, Syud Azimoodin Hoosein, the Deputy Collector of Revenue. They went into their "fortified bungalow" on the night of Sunday, 26th July, and were attacked in force on the following morning. The assault was incessantly renewed, and cannon-fire directed against them from cover of the main house. But they held out until Sunday, August 2nd, when Vincent Eyre "defeated the rebels, and on the 3rd we came out."

Wake's reward for his gallantry was a C.B. and Vickers Boyle, the "Vauban of the siege," received a C.S.I. on the institution of that order in 1861. But memories in Anglo-India are short. When Sir George Trevelyan visited the scene of their exploits in 1863, he was compelled to record the disappearance of almost every vestige of the heroic struggle. "Already," he writes, "the wall on which Wake wrote his diary of the siege has been whitewashed and the enclosure, where the dead horses lay through those August days, has been destroyed; and a party-wall has been built over the mouth of the well in the cellars; and the garden fence which served the mutineers as a first parallel has been moved further back." Nor was there, until Lord Curzon repaired the neglect a year or two ago, even a tablet on the outer wall to testify to the pride and admiration of a later generation.

Still this Thermopylae of the English race should need no such outward signs to keep its place in our memory. "As long as Englishmen love to hear of fidelity and constancy and courage bearing up against frightful odds, there is no fear lest they forget the name of the 'little house at Arrah.'" Honours, as the world esteems them, did not fall to the lot of Wake and Boyle and their gallant comrades. But they have earned their niche in the Temple of Fame. They afforded to the world a glorious proof that the good old blood of England was not yet worn out : and therein they had their reward.

H. E. A. COTTON.

Old St. James's:

THE CHURCH THAT FELL.

Where many an enthusiast
Has worshipped—but that day is past !...
No vesper hymn, no morning prayer,
Shall be put up, or answered, there.

—DEACON.



At the present day there are but few persons in Calcutta who can recall the Old Church of St. James which fell fifty years ago. It was situated towards the eastern end of the town, north of Creek Row, between Dharamtala and Bow Bazar. To be more precise—as one proceeds down the latter street towards Sealdah, he will, on reaching Amherst Street (on the left hand) find opposite, on the right, running southwards, a wide lane named *Nebutolla* ("the place of limes"). A few paces down it, to the left, is a road, St. James's Square, and a little further on, the corresponding side of the quadrangle. Enclosed by these sides is a range of roadside shops known as "Nerra-Girja Bazar" (Nos. 26 and 27 Nebutolla Lane). Among these shops, to the south of one occupied by a *modi* (grain-dealer), stands a tottering gate-pillar with the crumbling fragment of a wall behind it. This is all that remains to-day of old St. James's Church. It is not too late to restore the battered pillar and to mark it with a tablet, and this the Calcutta Historical Society might perhaps ask the Local Government to do.

While the last century was still young the Roman Catholics, on the one hand, and the Baptists, on the other, had erected churches and chapels in Bow Bazar and Circular Road, and the need of an Anglican place of worship also began to be felt in some other portion of the town apart from St. John's (Old Cathedral) and the Old Mission Church. For this purpose the first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. T. F. Middleton, asked for public offerings, and immediately a Eurasian family responded with the gift of a site.* This was

* There is a reference to this fact in the *Englelighter* of May 14, 1906, but the name of the family is not mentioned. The donor I learn from a descendant of his, Mr. E. R. Serr of the Bengal Serranist) was Mr. Robert Lamas D'Oliveira. He was originally a Roman Catholic and his mother, Mrs. Joanna D'Oliveira, is buried in the Maryghatta Cathedral (1765). After St. James's Church fell Mr. H. A. Elliott, a grandson of the donor, bought back part of the land, while another portion was purchased by a native for a house.

the following Sunday evening the Bishop himself preached. Within the compound was a house for a boys' and a girls' parochial school. The school-master, Mr. W. R. Rollo, who was also the Vestry Clerk, used to reside on the premises.

The Church is said, on the whole, to have presented rather a dreary aspect. A highly respected lady, who is still living, sends the following interesting description:—

"I was married (in Old St. James's) in September, 1857, and it fell in 1858. The steeple was left unfinished owing to its being found that the ground was sinking; it was left in turret form as St. Thomas's (Free School) Church now is; natives called it 'Nara Girjah' on this account. The Church was built on the site of a tank; this is supposed to have occasioned its collapse. The plan was much like the Free School Church of old time before the chancel was added. The east wall had a coloured glass window of Gothic shape, but no pictured representation. The pulpit was on the right side of the aisle and the reading-desk on the left. I have no recollection of the font. The communion-table had on each side of the wall, right and left, tablets with the Creed and Commandments. The girls and boys of the School had seats in front (*i.e.*, to the sides); then there were short pews running near the north and south walls like the Old Mission Church has on its north side. There were two side-doors. The Vestry was on the north side and the minister walked up the aisle. There was a porch (vestibule) at the west entrance and a portico and two gates for the carriages to drive in and out. The plan of the Free School Church is somewhat similar to Old St. James's."

To the above may be added the following from another esteemed correspondent who was baptised in the Church:—

"It had no gallery, only an organ-loft. I used to sing in the choir when Mr. Madge was Organist. A bell used to toll for service. . . . The curious thing is that, although the portion of the church to the east first came down, none of the *débris* fell on the altar or communion-table."

The building had been declared to be unsafe, both owing to the fact that it was erected on the site of a "choked tank" (known a century ago as the Puddopuker) and the beams had been attacked by white ants. It had already been decided to remove the fittings with a view to repairing the building, when one morning, in August, 1858, with a tremendous crash the roof fell in!* It was not thought advisable to rebuild the church. Indeed it had always been considered a little out of the way, and its southern approach (*via* Creek Row) led through a network of narrow lanes. So a new and more convenient site on

* The exact date does not appear in the Church records, but it is said to have fallen on Sunday, August 22nd, about 10-20 a.m., while the congregation were assembling for service in the school-room in the church compound.

Lower Circular Road was acquired for the new church of St. James (*Jora Girjah*). Of the latter the foundation-stone was laid by the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon) on the 7th June, 1862, and on St. James's day (25th July) 1864 it was consecrated by Bishop Cotton. Until the new church was opened service used to be held (among other places) in the school-room in the compound of the former church and in St. Paul's School,* until 1860 when the Rev. Dr. P. J. Jarbo, who had that year been appointed Chaplain of St. James's district, obtained the use of St. Saviour's Hindustani Church at the south-east corner of Wellesley Square. A black marble tablet to the memory of the Rev. W. H. Ross, Junior Chaplain, which used to be in old St. James's, was placed in the northern transept of the newer building.

On glancing through the registers of baptisms and marriages, one may note the christenings of two daughters of C. E. Trevelyan, C.S., and Hannah More, his wife. It will be remembered that Sir Charles Trevelyan, who afterwards became Governor of Madras and was created a Baronet, married the sister of Lord Macaulay. Of the Trevelyan children christened here the elder, named Margaret Jane, became the wife of the first Viscount Knutsford, while the younger, Harriet Selina, died in infancy (1837) and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta.† In 1838 a Mr. Alexander Grant Aldwell was married here to Miss Sophia Skinner, who was a daughter of Major Robert Skinner and a niece of the famous Colonel James Skinner, C.B., of Skinner's Horse. Here in 1851 the Rev. E. C. Stuart, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand, was united to Miss DeCourcy. Here, also, Sidney Laman Blanchard, the distinguished journalist, who had been Private Secretary to Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield)‡, led to the altar Miss Carmichael, an Irish lady, on March 15, 1855, the ceremony being repeated at the R. C. Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Dharamtala. The pages bristle with the names of old Calcutta families of whom some (though not all) are now quite forgotten—the Baillies, Bodells, Blaquieres, Byrnes, Chisholms, Derozios, Heritages, Hoffa, Kellners, Kerrs, Keymers, Klerlanders, Kirkpatricka, Macleods, Madges, Martindells, Pritchards, Starks, Sutherlands, Templetons and Woods. To these and to many another Anglo-Indian house, "Old St. James's" should be hallowed by the tenderest and most sacred associations, although (in the words of the poet)—

The fame is fallen, the rite is o'er,
The choral anthem peals no more!

* Before its removal to Dufferin St. Paul's School was located in Channinghaze about where the Indian Museum and the new U.S. Club now stand. The sale proceeds of the Old St. James's School (as appears from a list of "endowments") amounted to Rs. 16,500.

† The inscription is one of those collected in the *Bengal Itinerary*.

‡ See "Pillars of Indian Journalism" in the *Journal*, March 3, 1908.

The following letter, appearing in an old Calcutta newspaper, will doubtless prove interesting :—

THE RUINS OF ST. JAMES'S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "BENGAL HARBUR."

SIR,

Having occasion this morning to visit the neighbourhood of St. James's, I observed an elderly gentleman, a celebrity in his way, gazing at the ruins of the church. As he appeared absorbed in contemplation, I crept up to him and heard him ejaculate the following lines, which I enclose for insertion in your journal.

Yours truly,

C. G.*

23rd August, 1858.

Oh ! what a thrilling scene doth greet mine eye,
Which long hath gazed on what alone is fair,
A noble pile of sacred masonry,
Reared by a Bishop with observant care
In honor of St. James. The sun ne'er shone
On edifice more classic, or more bright ;
But in a night, plinth, jetting, frieze, are gone,
And nothing now but debris meets the sight !
Mnemosyné ! now play thy welcome part,
Brighten the lenses of fond memory,
And may thy vision melt this lonely heart
Which ne'er was moved by woman's tear or sigh !
Where is the pulpit, whilom BOSWELL† trod,
The meekly priest, the poor man's steady friend,
Who hushing children taught to praise their God,
And Sabbath-schools and meetings to attend ;

*It is not known who the writer of this letter was. The initials are those of Mr. Collesworthy Grant, a well-known writer at the time, as also of Mr. Charles Gardener, a prominent member of the congregation. The lines, however, are unlikely to have been composed by either of these gentlemen. The editor (Mr. J. Newman) considered the "verses worthy of Charles Churchill's mordant muse." Strange to say, the day after the date of this letter a severe earthquake was felt in Calcutta !

† The Rev. Robert Bruce Boswell, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed a Chaplain on the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Establishment in 1832, and until his retirement in 1856 was attached to old St. James's as "Minister." He died in London four years later. A mural tablet to his memory was subsequently placed in the new church on the grounds of which the Boswell Memorial Hall was erected. Mr. Boswell was of good family, being described in the *Household* as "the heir male of Boswell of Auchinleck" ; so he was closely related to Johnson's biographer. He married the daughter of Sir Archibald Dunbar, Bart. ; she died shortly after her arrival in India and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta.

And the small desk where noseless ROLLO* stood,
 The Vestry Clerk, that pedagogue uncouth,
 Who always seemed in reverential mood,
 And "Amen" said with nasal twang in sooth !
 The organ, too, no more shall raise its swell,
 Nor MADGE† with tripping fingers touch its keys,
 No more shall he with music's magic spell
 Warm the cold heart, the listening ear appease
 The chairs, the floors, the footstools, all I ween ;
 The velvet hassocks for your men of state,
 Lie buried, smash'd, as if they ne'er had been,
 Beneath a load immeasurably great !
 Fond but sad relics, dear to me for years,
 Give me my "wipe" to stop this flood of tears !

St. James's is not the only Church in Calcutta that has disappeared. St. Anne's (consecrated in 1709) at the south-western corner of Writers' Buildings, was destroyed in the siege of 1756. Then there were the Old Roman Catholic Church (1720); the Anglican Chapel of St. John (1760); and St. John's R. C. Chapel in Upper Circular Road (1808) which has after a century been rebuilt. At Howrah, across the river, the former Baptist Chapel (1821), known as the "Ebenezer" Chapel, and situated near Cullen Place, was removed in 1865 owing to the East Indian Railway Company having acquired the site.

To these places of Christian worship may be perhaps added the great Muhammadan Mosque which (according to Long) gave its name to *Dharmatala* or "Holy Street." As, however, Mr. Firminger reminds us in his *Guide*, Dr. Höernle has pointed out that the followers of Dharma (one of the

* Mr. William R. Rollo was (as has been stated) not only Vestry Clerk (or schoolmaster of St. James's Parochial School and resided in a small house on the premises. It is right to add in connection with the above description that a correspondent in the *Bengal Herald* took exception to attention being drawn to Mr. Rollo's one physical imperfection instead of his many moral perfections !

† Mr. Thomas A. Madge (of the Madge's Lane family) was organist of Old St. James's for over thirty years, including the period he continued as such of the new Church. Taking over the instrument from Miss Croyers in the middle 'thirties, he relinquished it in the later 'sixties to Mrs. Avery. In connection with the opening ceremony of new St. James's he is thus referred to in the editorial columns of the *Bengal Herald* of 27th July 1864 :—"The *Cantate Domino* and *Te Deum* were delivered by the choir with that finish which we have a right to expect when Mr. Madge presides at the instrument." His eldest daughter, who sometimes played the organ for her father and began to do so at twelve years of age, was the musical prodigy who afterwards composed the March of the Calcutta Volunteer Guards. He was, besides, Superintendent of the Office of Examiners of Commissioners and Staff Accounts.



A RELIC OF THE VANISHED
ST. JAMES' CHURCH.
(Photo by S. A. Davis, Eng.)

Buddhist Trinity) still have a temple in Jaun Bazar and must have named the neighbouring street after the object of their devotion.

In preparing this note my best thanks are due to the Revs. W. J. Wickins and J. F. Smith, past and present Chaplains of St. James's, for their courtesy in permitting me to glance at the Parish records; to my life-long friend, Mr. Herbert A. Stark, for much valuable information; and to Mr. Silas A. Perris, a member of our Society, who was kind enough to go down to Nebutolla on more than one occasion to photograph the old gate-pillar which illustrates this article. The Honorary Secretary of the Society, has also, at my suggestion, taken snap-shots of the pillar and the site.

E. W. M.



A Note on the Rev. Paul Limrick and the Limrick Family.



On 28th October, 1788, Rev. Paul Limrick officially reported his arrival in Calcutta. His approbation by the Archbishop is dated 18th February, 1788. Captain Agnew was paid £100 for the passage of this gentleman to India who declared himself pleased with his treatment during the voyage.

Mr. Limrick was a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, 1773. He graduated B.A. in 1775 and M.A. in 1782, in which year he married a Miss Margaret Law, who accompanied him to India. She died in 1841.

According to the "Parochial Annals of Bengal" (by H. B. Hyde, 1901) Mr. Limrick officiated at Chunar in 1789, at Fategarh in 1790, at Dinapore in 1791 and in 1794 he became Garrison Chaplain at Fort William. In 1897 he was appointed Junior Presidency Chaplain under the Rev. David Brown, but continued to act as Garrison Chaplain.

Mr. Limrick lived at No. 34, Chowringhee Road and died in 1810, after having been invalided for about a year. A musical service book printed for St. John's use from engraved copper plates *circa* 1810, contains chants written by Mr. Limrick and his wife. A half length portrait of him in oils is preserved in St. John's. He left a widow and several children. Dr. Ward succeeded him in the Junior Chaplaincy.

The Rev. Paul Limrick was coming home from India in 1809 when the ship in which he sailed went down with all on board. He was known to have very considerable property in India, but he was supposed to have had all his papers with him when he was lost. His heirs discovered a property in Calcutta, worth about £900 a year, which was divided about 1845. Some twenty-five years later, Limrick's grandson, Lyttelton H. Lyster, had a communication from a Frenchman in Calcutta, stating that he knew of the existence of considerable unclaimed property which had belonged to Dr. Limrick and offering to give the information necessary for its recovery if he got half of it. After protracted negotiations he agreed to accept one-third. His representatives in London then arranged to meet Mr. Lyster's lawyers, to draw up the necessary documents, etc. On the appointed day the Frenchman's representatives never came. Enquiries were made, and it was found that the firm of solicitors who had acted for him had left their place of business. Nothing more could be discovered and no more was heard from



THE REV. PAUL LINGARD.

any of them. Quite recently there have been fresh rumours of unclaimed Limrick property or money in India, but so far the representatives of the family have been able to discover nothing of it.

There exists an old tradition that the Limricks were originally a French family named "de Lambrouk" or "de l'Ambroix" (perhaps de l'Ambroix), which came to Ireland and settled there. The surname is so uncommon and peculiar—it evidently has no connection with the town of Limerick—as to lend weight to the supposition that it is an anglicised form of a foreign name. It is, of course, well known that about the end of the sixteenth century many settlers began to come to the North of Ireland (where the name of Limrick first appears) from Scotland, between which and France there had, a generation or so earlier, been much intercourse.

In a succession list of the clergy in Louth parishes appears the name of one "John Limyricke," Rector of Baronstown in 1540. He is referred to in a Repertory of Decrees as "Sir John Limrick," living near Dundalk in 1557, and as "Sir John Limricke, parson of Derver," in the same county, in 1564. He became Vicar of Dundalk in 1577. About 1661-69 a Donald Limrick was living in the parish of Drumchese, Limavady, not far from Derry, and at the same period a Patrick Lymericke in the parish of "Killawan" (? Killowen, near Coleraine), Co. Londonderry. Thomas Limbrick of Dungiven, Co. Londonderry, died in or about 1704, leaving Bridget, his wife, surviving him. Several children of George Limbrick, or Lamrick, and Mary, his wife, were baptised in Londonderry Cathedral 1725-1732.

Having regard to the rarity* of the name, it is fairly certain that these Limricks were ancestors or relatives of a Paul Limrick, who, about the time of Charles II., was also an inhabitant of the northern part of Ireland and whose descendants are here traced.

Paul Limrick, born probably about the year of the Restoration (1660), and, apparently, living in or near the City of Derry about the time of its famous siege, married and had issue (with a son, who was father of another Paul Limrick, who was probably the "Paul Limrick of Londonderry, gent," who married, in Cork, in 1755, Mary Limrick, and died in 1764, leaving his wife, Mary, and three children—Paul, Thomas and Mary, surviving) a son, Rev. Paul Limrick, born in Derry; entered Trinity College, Dublin, 16th June 1708, Scholar 1711, B.A. 1713, M.A. 1717, afterwards D.D., Vicar of Killaconenagh, etc., Diocese of Ross, 1718. Vicar 1720-23 and Rector 1723-55 of Killmoe and Schull, Co. Cork. Built the glebehouse at Schull at a cost of £600. Died March, 1755, and was buried in St. Mary's

* Some fifty years ago there were some Limricks living at Thornbury in Gloucestershire. Apart from the Limricks or Limbricks mentioned in this paper and persons deriving from them, this is the only other occurrence of the name which the writer has been able to discover.

Shandon, Cork, on 30th March, 1755. Will dated 25th March, and proved 25th May, 1755. Mentions in it two sons—William (who had an eldest son, Paul) and Robert—and four daughters—Bridget (wife of Benjamin Sullivan), Mary (probably wife of Paul Limrick of Derry), Anne, and Mrs. White (Martha Limrick, who married in 1744 William White and had a son, William); nephew Paul Limrick, sister Searson. He appears to have acquired the estate at Schull, or Skull—as the old spelling was—afterwards held by his descendants. It included Mount Gabriel, a very picturesque mountain, visible for miles from every part of the surrounding country and which was the last place in Ireland where wolves were found. He left, with other issue, a son and a daughter.

William Limrick, of Union Hall, Co. Cork, eldest son; married Margaret Somerville. Of whom later.

Bridget Limrick, eldest daughter, died 8th July, 1802, having married, 3rd January, 1742, Benjamin Sullivan, Esq., of Dromeragh, Co. Cork, who claimed to be "The O'Sullivan More," and by him left issue four sons and five daughters.

1. Sir Benjamin Sullivan, born 1747, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Madras; married Eliza, daughter of Admiral Sir Digby Dent, K.B., and died 1810, having had, with other issue, two sons and two daughters.

1. George James Sullivan, Captain Royal Horse Guards, blue; High Sheriff, Beds., 1844; born 1791, died 1860, having married, 1816 Mary, daughter and co-heir of Rev. Stiverd Jenkins of Leaking, Somerset, who died 1866, having had (with other issue) two sons and two daughters.

(1) George Augustus Filmer Sullivan, Lieutenant-Colonel, Scots Guards, and 5th R. I. Lancers; born 1818; married 1st in 1842, Emily, only daughter of Richard Prime, Esq., of Walber House, Sussex, M.P., who died 1872, having had four sons and three daughters: 1. George Digby Filmer, Captain, 15th (King's) Hussars, Arthur, Adrian, Walter Sandys, 1 Emily Rosa, married 1878 Gordon F. Deedes, Esq. 2. Blanche, married 1872 Charles James Radclyffe, Esq., jun., of Hyde, Dorset (and has, with three daughters two sons—Robert C. E. Radclyffe, late 1st Life Guards and 1st Royal Dragoons, Capt. 3 Bt. (Mil.) Dorset Regt., J.P., married and has issue—Raymond A. G. Radclyffe). Colonel G. A. P. Sullivan, m. 2nd in 1874, Eleanor, daughter of John C. Fletcher, Esq., of Dale Park, Sussex, and has a son, b. 1880.

- (2) Rev. John Filmer Sullivan, M.A., Camb., b. 1834; m. 1859 Adelaide, d. Abel Smith, Esq., M.P., of Wood Hall, Herts (nephew of Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington), and has issue.
- (1) Mary E. Sullivan, m. 1840 Thomas Beale Browne, Esq., of Salperton Park, Glouc., and Cappaghwhite, Co. Tipperary, and has issue.
- (2) Albinia Sullivan, m. 1850 Edward Robert Starkie-Bence, Esq., of Kentwell Hall, Suff., J.P., D.L., High Sheriff 1861, Capt. late 1st King's Dragoon Guards, and had issue.
2. Robert Sullivan, bar-at-law I. T., b. 1797; m. 1819 Margaret, eld. dau. Sir Edward Filmer, 6th Bart.:
 1. Margaret Sullivan, m. Robert Ashworth, Capt. Life Guards.
 2. Harriet Sullivan, m. Lt.-Col. Francis de Vismes.
- II. The Right Hon. John Sullivan, of Richings Park, Bucks, born 1749; M.P. Old Sarum 1790—6; Aldborough, Yorks, 1802—6, and Ashburton, 1811—18; Under-Secretary of War 1801—5, in which latter year he was sworn of the Privy Council; m. 1789 Lady Henrietta Anne Barbara, dau. George, 3rd Earl of Buckinghamshire; and by her (who d. 1828) he left on his death in 1839, with five daughters and only son:

John Augustus Sullivan, of Richings Park, Provost-Marshal of Jamaica, Secretary and Registrar of Demerara, b. 1798, d. 1871, having had by Jane, his second wife, dau. Admiral Sir Charles Tyler, K.C.B., two sons and a dau.:

 1. Roper Augustus Sullivan, late Royal Bucks Militia, b. 1827, m. 1857 Mary, dau. Francis McDonnell, Esq., of Plas Newydd, Usk, Mon., and had issue a dau.
 2. Frederick Sullivan, Postmaster-General of Jamaica, b. 1835, m. 1862 Caroline, dau. William Kemble, Esq., and has issue.
 1. Emilia Sullivan, m. 1856 Lewis Knight-Bruce, Esq. (brother of 1st Baron Aberdare), and had issue.
- III. Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, 1st Bart., of Thames Ditton, Surrey; of whom presently.
- IV. Henry Boyle Sullivan, d. unm. 1783.
 1. Margaret Sullivan, m. General Gordon Forbes, Col. 29th Foot, and had issue.
 2. Elizabeth Sullivan, m. Patrick Lawson, Esq.
 3. Sabinia Sullivan, m. John Otto Bayer, and died 1784, leaving issue.
 4. Henrietta Sullivan, married first, Col. Alexander Maclellan, and secondly, John Balfour, Esq., of Trenaby, M.P.

5. Anne Sullivan, married, 1781, Lt.-Col. George Hallam, of White Barns, Herts.

Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, the third son, was born 10th December, 1752. Was M.P. New Romney 1787—96; M.P. Seaford 1802. A Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Society. Author of various miscellaneous writings (see "Dictionary of National Biography.") Created a Baronet 22nd May, 1804. Married, 1778, Mary, only surviving daughter of Thomas Lodge, Esq., of Leeds, by whom (who died 1832) he left issue on his death, in 1806, six sons and two daughters:

I. Sir Henry Sullivan, 2nd Bart., b. 1785. Lt.-Col. Coldstreams; fell in a sortie from the garrison of Bayonne, 14th April, 1814; d. unm.

II. Sir Charles Sullivan, 3rd Bart., Admiral of the Blue, R.N.; b. 1789, d. 1862; m. 1818 Jean Anne, only dau. Robert Taylor, Esq., of Ember Court, Surrey, by whom he left issue (with a dau., who d. unm.) two sons and two daus.

1. Sir Charles Sullivan, 4th Bart., b. 1820, d. unm. 1865.

2. Sir Edward Robert Sullivan, 5th Bart., J.P., D.L.; b. 1826, d. 1899; m. 1859 Mary, youngest dau. Henry Currie, of West Horsley Place, Surrey, and left an only dau.:

Maud Anne Sullivan, m. Arthur Remington Robert, Esq., of Seven Stoke, Worcestershire.

1. Mary M. Sullivan, m. 1869 Henry Currie, Esq., West Horsley Place, Surrey, and d.s.p. 1905.

2. Jean Sullivan, m. 1863 Rev. Henry Nele Loring (eldest son of Admiral Sir John Wentworth Loring, K.C.B., R.C.H.), and d. 1865.

III. Edward Richard Sullivan, b. 1791, m. 1815 Eliza, dau. General Sir James Liffyman Caldwell, G.C.B., and d. 1824, having had, with two sons who d.s.p., a daughter:

Maria Charlotte Sullivan, m. Sir John Lees, 3rd Bart. (son of Sir Harcourt Lees and Sophia, his wife, dau. Col. Anthony Lyster, of Grange, Co. Roscommon), and had with other issue, an eldest son:

Sir Harcourt Lees, 4th and present Baronet.

IV. Rev. Frederick Sullivan, b. 1797; m. Arabella, dau. Valentine H. Wilmot, Esq., of Farnborough, Herts, by Barbarina, his wife, afterwards Baroness Dacre, dau. Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, Bart. She d. 1839, leaving, with other issue, two sons and a daughter:

1. Sir Francis William Sullivan, 6th Bart., K.C.B., C.M.G., Admiral R.N., A.D.C. to the Queen 1877—78; b. 1834, d. 1906; m. 1861 Agnes, second dau. Hon. Sir Sydney Bell,

Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope, and left issue two sons and a daughter :

(1) Rev. Sir Frederick Sullivan, M.A., Oxon., Rector of Southrepps, Norfolk, 7th and present Baronet ; b. 1865, m. 1901 Hon. Judith Harbord, Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, dau. Charles, 5th Lord Suffield, P.C., G.C.V.O.

(2) Richard Sullivan, Commander R.N. ; b. 1866, m. 1905 Beatrix Evelyn, eld. dau. Arthur Magniac, Esq., of the Hermitage, Ascot, and has issue.

(1) Gertrude Agnes, m. 1892 John Lionel Lyster, Esq. (grandson of Colonel Anthony Lyster, of Grange).

2. Henry Eden Sullivan, b. 1835, m. Louisa, dau. James Pierce, Esq., and d. 1903, leaving issue.

1. Barbarina C. Sullivan, m. 1846 Admiral the Hon. Sir Frederick William Grey, G.C.B. (third son of 2nd Earl Grey).

V. Arthur Sullivan, Major in the Army, b. 1801, d. unm. 1832.

VI. William Sullivan, Major-General, C.B., Col. 38th Regt., b. 1804.

I. Charlotte Sullivan, m. 1824 William Hale, Esq., of King's Warden, Herts.

II. Eliza Sullivan, m. 1814 Canon the Hon. Frederick Pleydell Bouverie (third son of 2nd Earl of Radnor), and d. 1846, leaving issue.

William Limrick, eldest son of Rev. Paul, was of Union Hall, Co. Cork ; m. in 1753 Elizabeth, third daughter of Rev. Thomas Somerville,* Rector of Myross, Braad and Casthaven, Co. Cork (born in Galloway, Scotland, in 1687, being second son of Rev. William Somerville, great grandson of James, 6th Baron Somerville in the Peerage of Scotland†). Her will dated 5th October, 1804, proved 16th October, 1817. Died intestate 1762, leaving issue (with a second son, Col. William Somerville Limrick, in the Hon. East India Co.'s Military Service, who bought a valuable estate at Union Hall, Co. Cork, and died there unmarried, 14th August, 1831 ; and two daus.—Mary, married, 1794, Richard Hungerford, and Judith Anne, married, in 1808, John Hingston, and d.s.p. 1829), an elder son :

Rev. Paul Limrick, Scholar Trinity College, Dublin, 1773 ; Secretary of the College Historical Society, 1775.—6 ; B.A. 1775, M.A. 1782 ; afterwards

* By Anne Neville, his wife, daughter of John Neville, of Furnace, Co. Kildare, Esq., son of Colonel Richard Jones, who assumed the name of "Neville" on his marriage with Mary, sole heir of Richard Neville, of Furnace. This last-named (Richard Neville) was great-grandson of the Hon. Francis Neville, second son of Edward, Fifth Baron Abergavenny, the lineal descendant of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Joan, his wife, daughter of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III.

† Whose father's mother was Margery Montgomery, sister of the First Earl of Eglinton, and great-granddaughter of Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert III., of Scotland.

D.D., Deacon 1st November, and Priest 20th December, 1778, both at Cork, Licensed to be Curate of St. Ann's Shandon, Cork, 8th January, 1781; and on 24th December, 1782, to be Curate of St. Mary Shandon, at £50. Had letters dimissory to Canterbury Diocese 14th January, 1788. Afterwards Chaplain to the Presidency of Fort William, Bengal. Appointed Bishop of Calcutta, but was lost at sea in the vessel in which he was coming to England for consecration in 1809.* Will dated at Calcutta 16th May, 1807; read 6th August, 1810; proved by the Registrar in 1845. He married, in St. Michan's, Dublin, 14th July, 1782, Margaret, daughter of Robert Law, Esq. (of the House of Lauriston), of Dublin, Leixlip, and Cork, Barrack Master General of all Ireland. Her marriage portion charged on the lands of Roberts-town, Leixlip, Co. Kildare, and lands in Co. Monaghan, etc. She died in 1830, and her will was proved by the Registrar in 1841. By her, Dr. Limrick had issue two sons and four daughters:

- I. William Alexander Limrick, baptized in St. Mary's Shandon, 11th October, 1783. Appointed to a writership in the Hon. East India Company's Service, but was accidentally shot by a friend on the eve of his departure for India; d.v.p. unm.
- II. John Sullivan Limrick survived his father, but died unmarried, (admn. granted 1833), when his sisters became heiresses to their father.
- I. Mary Anne Limrick, d. unm. Sept. 1813. Bur. at Myross, 1st Oct.
- II. Charlotte Cameron Limrick, eldest surviving daughter and co-heir, m. in St. Peter's, Cork, August 15th, 1811, Capt. Lyttelton Lyster, 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, but afterwards 1st Royal Surrey Regt., of Lysterfield, Union Hall, Co. Cork, J.P. (cousin of above-mentioned Col. Anthony Lyster, being eldest surviving son of Rev. John Lyster, D.D., Chaplain to the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his wife's cousin, and afterwards Rector of the Crown living of Clonpriest, Diocese of Cloyne), who died 20th February, 1850. She died 14th May, 1849, and was buried in Creagh churchyard, Ballinasloe, having had, with other issue, two sons:
 - I. Lyttelton Henry Lyster, born 21st July, 1814, 1st Royal Surrey Regt., married in St. Thomas's, Dublin, March, 1846, Jane, eldest daughter of his uncle, Charles Lyster, Royal Marines, of Riverstown, Co. Cork, who died June 13th, 1904. He sold his portion of the Schull property about 1860. He died

* [The See of Calcutta was founded in 1813.—EDITH.]

November 24th, 1890, having had issue a son—Lyttelton Annesley Alen Lyster—and four daughters, of whom the eldest, Marion Georgina, m. 1877 Rev. Edward Denny, M.A. (nephew of the late Sir Edward Denny, Bart.) and has a son: Rev. Henry Lyttelton Lyster Denny, M.A.

2. George Annesley Lyater, born 10th July, 1828, godson and namesake of his father's cousin, George Annesley, Earl of Mountnorris. Sold his share of the Schull property. Married Marian, dau. P. Morgan, Esq., and has issue an only son: Rev. Henry Cameron Lyster, B.D.

III. Margaret Frances Limrick, married (settlement dated 27th May) 1818, Joseph Pigott Rogers, Esq., of Killeigh, Co. Cork, and died without issue in November, 1861.

IV. Matilda Limrick, died before 1830, having married Charles MacKenzie, Esq., Bengal Co.'s Service. He died intestate (administration granted to Charlotte C. Lyster), having had issue (with two sons, Frederick and Charles, who died unmarried), an eldest son and eight daughters:

1. Kenneth MacKenzie, in the Army, died 26th January, 1874, having executed a will in New Zealand leaving all he possessed to his daughter, Pauline MacKenzie.
1. Margaret MacKenzie, married first, Lieutenant Nenon Armstrong, of Clontarf, Co. Dublin, afterwards General, and had a daughter Mary, married . . . Douglas (?) and Charles, Robert, Edward, Jane, Minnie, and Donata Armstrong).
2. Eliza MacKenzie, married Rev. Robert Cross, of Kingston, Somerset, afterwards of Ockham Rectory, Ripley, Surrey.
3. Matilda Pugh MacKenzie, married first, Captain M. Charles Maher of Woodlands, Somerset, by whom she had three sons—Daniel, Kenneth, and Nicholas Maher, and a daughter, Eliza Maher (who married . . . Howard). She married secondly, . . . Blair, by whom she had two daughters—Louisa Blair (married . . . Murrey) and Thomasina Blair (married . . . O'Moore). She died intestate 31st March, 1853, leaving her second husband and her six children surviving.
4. Louisa MacKenzie, married Major Charles Carter, 16th Regiment of Foot, and had issue two daughters, one of whom is probably identical with "Anne, daughter Colonel Carter," 16th Regiment who married Colonel Wm. Collis Spring, and had Captain Francis Spring, 57th Regiment (killed in the Indian Mutiny), who married Sara Ellen, daughter Lieutenant-Colonel

Edward Day, H.E.I.C.S., and had a son and a daughter—Wm. Ed. Day Spring, 24th Regiment, born 1855, and Anne E. F. Spring. (See Foster's "Royal Descents," page 74.)

5. Jemima MacKenzie, married William Henry Oakes, Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army.
6. Caroline MacKenzie, married Arthur Plowden, 5th Bengal Cavalry, by whom she had a son—Cornwallis Plowden—and two daughters—Pauline Plowden (married . . . Austin) and Matilda Plowden (married . . . Melville).
7. Helen MacKenzie, married Arthur Grote, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, and had a son—(? S. M.) Grote.
8. Pauline Jemima Catherine MacKenzie, married 1839 Major-General Francis Drummond (second son of Sir Francis Drummond, 2nd Bart.), and had issue two sons and three daughters:
 - (1) Francis Charles Drummond, Major, 7th Bengal Native Infantry, born 1840, died unmarried 1880.
 - (2) Charles Forbes Drummond, born 1861.
 - (1) Pauline Mary Drummond, married 1865 James Wallace Quinton, C.S.I., Deputy Commissioner, Assam, who died 1891.
 - (2) Alice S. H. Drummond, married 1871 Maurice Thompson Carmichael, Esq., of East End, Co. Lanark, who died 1892, leaving issue.
 - (3) Margaret Drummond, married 1869 Lieutenant-General Thomas Maynard Hazlerigg, late R.A. (son of Sir Arthur Grey Hazlerigg, 12th Bart.), heir-presumptive to his nephew, Sir Arthur Grey Hazlerigg, 13th Bart., and has, with other issue, a son:

Thomas Hazlerigg, Lieutenant A.S.C., married 1903 Edith Violet, only daughter late Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. McCheane, R.M.L.I., and has a son:

Arthur Hazlerigg.

M. L. L. DENNY, M.A.

Authorities:—Wills, Marriage Licence Bonds, Admon. Bonds, Repertories of Decrees, and Derry Hearth Money Rolls, in the Dublin Public Record Office; Parish Registers of Myross, Co. Cork, of Derry Cathedral, and of St. Michan's, Dublin; Brady's "Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross," pamphlet entitled "Estates of Rev. Paul Limrick and Mrs. Limrick," Calcutta, 1867; marriage settlements, and other documents, etc.

A Review and Some Remarks.

"CALCUTTA: OLD AND NEW."

(SECOND NOTICE.)

(Vide pp. 170-194 of Vol. I.)

Yours the secret is, Anjeno !
Yours the passed away renown !
Serenade without a singer,
Let me take the music down :
Harp-strings, answer to my finger,
Through the time-stained town.

J. J. Cotton in *The Calcutta Review*, October 1898.

"I have seen Bengal, there the teeth are red and the mouth is black."—Oriental Proverb.



SOME apology is due to Mr. J. J. Cotton for placing the opening verse of "The Birthplace of Sterne's Eliza" at the head of these resumed "Remarks." It has nothing to do with our city, but by mentally substituting "Calcutta" for "Anjeno" a charming chord is struck by way of an overture to the further weaving of the story of Calcutta both Past and Present. When the formation of the Calcutta Historical Society was mooted, it was intended that its aim should lie in the direction of an authorised history of the city and neighbourhood. I am not aware that this idea has been abandoned and these random notes are offered in the hope that some day they may prove of service to the compiler of our "magnum opus."

Two or three mistakes crept into my last article. On page 183 the "Baman-basti" tank should be termed the "Teen-conea" (three-cornered) tank,—the former name being that of the large tank lying between Camac and Hungerford Streets towards Lower Circular Road. On page 184 "Colonel James Kyd" should read "Mr. James Kyd" and on page 185 "Billy Spike" should of course be "Billy Speke."

Mrs. Hemans' "The Boy stood on the Burning Deck" might well have been partly inspired by the story of the heroic midshipman of the *Kent* and his stricken father. There are points in the story of both young heroes common to each. In Mr. Rampini's fine collection of old Calcutta views reproduced on our "Ochterlony" post-card series is one showing Speke Street (formerly Ford

Street) leading off Chowringhee, now Sudder Street, but I venture to suggest that an alternative name is badly needed for either Middleton Row or Middleton Street and that the revival of a "Speke Street" (in memory of the young sailor who fell at the siege of Fort Orleans) would be a graceful municipal improvement and at the same time a happy termination to the confusion caused by there being two important thoroughfares very similarly named near to each other and yet far apart. The original Speke Street was named after Mr. Peter Speke, a member of council.

On pages 1-2 of the book there is a reference to a religious "poem" of the fifth century (*sic*) as giving the first *authentic* glimpse of Calcutta. The word I have italicised seems strangely out of place from the pen of a serious historian; the poem mentioned being itself of apocryphal origin. There are probably references to Calcutta in the *Puranas* (according to the *Indian Antiquary*) and elsewhere equally authentic which is no admission whatever in favour of the acceptance of Bipradas' praise of the serpentine goddess from the historical standpoint.

"On page 109, (writes Mr. S. C. Sanial,)* Mr. Cotton calls Maharaja Nanda Kumar a Brahmin of the highest "rank." This is evidently a piece of "Macaulayan vividness," for does not the essayist say in his "Warren Hastings" that Nuncomar was a "Brahmin of the Brahmins" and at the same time the blackest monster in human form? The late Dr. J. N. Bhattacharya, President of the College of Pundits, Nuddea, author of "Hindu Castes and Sects," writes thus in that book (p. 39) :—"It may be mentioned here that Nanda Kumar was not a high-caste Brahman, and was very far from being the head of the Brahman community as Macaulay has represented him to have been for artistic colouring of the picture. Nanda Kumar was in fact a middle-class *Rarhiya* Brahman, whose family had once been outcasted, and regained their status partly by a humiliating and expensive ceremony of expiation and partly by forming connections with families of a higher status." Thus the minutiae of "regenerate existence" have clearly nonplussed Mr. Cotton, besides the "Macaulayan vividness." In some places, Mr. Cotton writes Nuncumar in others Nanda Kumar and this leads to a double entry on his Index.

"Mr. Cotton gives, in two different places (pp. 123 and 365), two different dates of the death of Macaulay's Omichand—1763 and 1767. Neither of these dates is correct, nor even the name, Omichand, which in one place (p. 271) appears as Amin Chand. A facsimile of "Omichand's" original will is now preserved in the records of the Calcutta High Court, and as an Advocate of the same Court, Mr. Cotton could have learned from the same document that "Omichand" was really Amir Chand who died on December 5, 1758."

The following "birth" announcements are taken from the Calcutta Directory for 1830. They cover the first ten days of that year and are curious as showing the phraseology in which these interesting notices were then couched. It is possible that even when the nineteenth century was in its teens it was not unusual for notices to be found in churches indicating the seats of the "ladies" of the settlement and those of the "inferior women."

JANUARY.

1. Mrs. B. Barber, Junior, of a son.
2. At Bankipore, Mrs. Bell, of a son.
4. At Chandernagore, the Lady of Lieutenant R. K. Erskine, of a daughter.
5. The Lady of David Darling, Esq., Assistant Surgeon, of a son.
6. At Pykporah in the Krishnaghur district, the Lady of Richard De Courcy, Esq., of a Son.
6. The Lady of James W. Taylor, Esq., of a son.
7. At Chowringhee, the Lady of Captain Duncan McLeod, of Engineers, of a son.
8. The Lady of H. Taylor, Esq., of a son.
9. The Lady of Captain J. N. Jackson, of a son.
10. Mrs. Martin, wife of Sergeant-Major Martin, of H.M. 8th Light Dragoons, of a daughter.

In my former "Remarks" I referred to the Chevalier de L'Etang who died at Gazipore in 1840. My friend, Mr. Firminger, has pointed out some references to the Chevalier in the *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings* (the popular edition printed at Allahabad in 1907, pp. 117 *et seq.*) where however the name is given as De l'Etaign. According to Lord Hastings, de l'Etaing had been not a page of Maria Antoinette (as says Mr. Cotton on p. 509) but a Superintendent of the stud of King Louis XVI.

Colonel Crawford has very kindly sent our editor the extract from *Casanova's Memoirs* which it is supposed may relate to Edward Tiretta.

(*Memoires de Casanova de Senigault*, Vol. IV., Chapter V., pp. 129, 130.)
 "Tiretta plla bagage et vint à la Petite Pologne, n'apporter la facheuse nouvelle. Je le logéai au Temple, et un mois après, approuvant sa vocation d'aller teuter fortune aux Indes, je lui donnai une lettre de recommandation pour M. d'O— à Amsterdam, qui, en moins de quinze jours, le placa en qualité d'écrivain sur un vaisseau de la compagnie qui allait à Batavia. S'il avait eu une bonne conduite, il serait devenu riche; mais, ayant trempé dans une conspiration, il fut obligé de s'enfuir, et depuis il éprouva de grandes vicissitudes. J'ai su d'un de ses parents qu'en 1788 il était au Bengale, riche, mais dans l'impuissance de réaliser sa fortune pour retourner dans sa patrie et il passer le reste de ses jours. J'ignore ce qu'il est devenu depuis."

Mr. Cotton deals rather harshly with the character of William Coates Blaquiere. In describing Zoffany's *Altar Piece* at St. John's, Mr. Cotton writes: "The disciple, John, who is leaning on His (the Saviour's) shoulder, is declared to be Mr. Blaquiere, for many years a police magistrate. If this be the case, the selection must be adjudged to be an inappropriate one, for John Clark Marshman in his biography of Carey, the elder Marshman and Ward describe Blaquiere as a 'Bramanized European' notorious for his hostility to Christianity and his indifferent character." It is possible that Mr. Cotton has failed to detect the bias of J. C. Marshman's book. The noble and successful lives of the great Baptist missionaries did not require the almost unscrupulous advocacy of their biographer. Blaquiere was the police magistrate appointed by the Government to report on the doings of the missionaries in Bow Bazar, and he therefore comes within the reach of the Marshman whip. On the monument over his grave in the Lower Circular Road cemetery, it is recorded that Blaquiere was a friend of the great and good Sir William Jones, and that in itself is no mean testimony to his worth. The statement that he was "notorious for his hostility to Christianity," is absolutely lacking in proof, though it may be owned that there are traditions, not to his credit, but the inscription on his monument shews him as in his way quite distinguished, and, despite failings, deserving of something better than, in so important a book as Mr. Cotton's, to be characterised by the slander of a foe. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* in 1892 says: "The house next to the Baitakhana was occupied by Mr. Blaquiere, the oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nun-Cumar, he has seen the maidan all rice-field." He arrived a lad of fourteen with his fair hair done up in a pig-tail on his back. Referring to the tradition that Zoffany's St. John is Blaquiere, Mr. Firminger in his *Guide* writes: "One would have been tempted to believe that one of the fair-sex must have sat for the St. John, who, after the wont of the XVIIIth century painters, is depicted as a smooth-checked and delicate blonde." Oddly enough this apparent inconsistency supports tradition, for, in an obituary notice of J. J. L. Hoff, it is recorded that many of Blaquiere's most brilliant pieces of detective work were due to his success disguised as a woman.

The Anglo-Indian of to-day seldom realizes that India once had a navy of her own which during two and a half centuries of existence rendered invaluable services in the Orient. Lieutenant Charles Rathbone Lowe, formerly in the service, has told its stirring tale from 1613 to 1863. Mr. Cotton somewhat fails to emphasize the value to Calcutta of the squadron lying off Fort William at the outbreak of the Mutiny, when almost the last of the long series of deeds of moment were placed to its credit. There was a cessation

of hostilities in Persian waters and a chronic state of panic prevailed in Calcutta in June of the Mutiny year. This would have been greatly intensified but for the sense of security afforded by the sight of the *Punjab*, *Semiramis*, *Auckland*, *Zenobia*, *Coromandel* and others followed by the *Shannon* and *Pearl*, during the development and suppression of the "troubles" as well as by the presence of the greater part of their crews on duty on shore.

The Governor-General being convinced of the complicity in the rising of the King of Oude and his intriguing minister, Ali Nuckee Khan, communicated with Commander Foulerton of the *Punjab* as the senior naval officer, who while at church on Sunday (June 14) received a note desiring his immediate attendance on Lord Canning. The result of the interview was the appearance of the *Semiramis* off Garden Reach at daybreak the next morning, the *Punjab* having "her floats off." Colonel Powell with 500 men of the 53rd Regiment, some artillery, and the Governor-General's Bodyguard surrounded the King's vast enclosure of huts (containing some 1,500 armed followers) and the planned surprise was complete.

When the English officers made their appearance in the King's apartments, the wretched tool of the mutineers reduced by debauchery to a state of imbecility denied complicity in the rebellion and begged not to be removed. He was driven to the Fort in a carriage escorted by the bodyguard, while Ali Nuckee Khan and others were taken to the ghat and shipped aboard the *Semiramis*. Commander Foulerton has placed on record the story. He writes:—"Mr. Edmonstone, three or four others and myself, went into the house and up into the king's bedroom. We were kept outside a short time I suppose till he was ready to receive us. We then went in and I found him sitting on his bed and some of his wives and people were present. * * * His wives were very noisy and he was in great distress and seemed very unwilling to go on board, upon which I told Mr. Edmonstone that I supposed we should have to hoist him in, and as there seemed to be some difficulty Mr. Edmonstone sent one of the Bodyguard up to Government House and a carriage was sent down for him. I took Ali Nuckee Khan and two or three others on board of the *Semiramis* to Calcutta and landed them at the Fort."

The proposal (writes Lieutenant Lowe) of the gallant Captain of the *Punjab*, an officer, like many of his profession, accustomed to "stand no nonsense" to hoist the august sovereign of Oude on board his ship by "a whip on the mainyard" with no more ceremony than would be observed in the case of a barrel of pork or a drunken sailor must have amused, if it did not excite the horror of, the Foreign Secretary accustomed to carry out the strict etiquette of Eastern Courts at all interviews with the dethroned monarchs of Delhi and Lucknow.

In consequence of these events Calcutta was again in panic, the most alarming rumours circulated, crowds of refugees thronged the ships and one night the gallant proposer of the hoisting of serene majesty, who generally slept on shore, on coming back on board "found that a lady was occupying his bed."

Detachments of naval men were drafted up-country, among them the *Shannon's* brigade under the gallant and illfated Captain William Peel, and performed services of untold value. The Peel statue was formerly within Eden Gardens and the removal to its present position, according to the wits of the day, created an "Adamless Eden."

A poem by the late Gerald Massey, which appeared in the *Athenæum* of June 12, 1858, renders tribute to Sir Robert's "Sailor Son" closing with the following lines—

"Our old Norse Fathers speak in you;
 "Speak with their strange sea charm,
 "That sets our heart a-beating to
 "The music of the storm.
 "There comes a spirit from the deep,
 "The salt wind waves its wings,
 "That rouses from its inland sleep
 "The blood of the old Sea Kings."

The story of England's Army in the East has never lacked historians. That of its Navy is well nigh forgotten—the official records even having been destroyed. The Persian Gulf, Java, Karachi, Aden, China, New Zealand, Mooltan, Perim, the Andamans, the Mutiny and the Red Sea indicate some of the great memories, both in Peace and War, that the mention of it revives. Its flag was officially and finally hauled down in Bombay Harbour in 1863.

I have already mentioned that Dr. Samuel Johnson at one time contemplated an Indian career; had he acted upon the impulse he would not only soon have realised that there was at least one other Englishman besides Edmund Burke "capable of writing" the letters of *Junius*, but would have refrained from speaking of Clive as "loaded with wealth and honours; a man who had acquired his fortune by such crimes, that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat." To which Boswell interposed "might not this nobleman have felt everything weary, stale, flat and unprofitable as Hamlet says?" and Johnson replied "Nay, if you are to bring in gabble I'll talk no more. I will not upon my honour!" So Boswell, ever kindly, ever suave, closes with "My readers will decide upon this dispute." His readers have decided.

In the *Essays of Elia*, Charles Lamb, writing of his contemporaries at Christ's Hospital, mentions "Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, a scholar and a

gentleman in his teens. He has the reputation of an excellent critic; and is author (besides the *Country Spectator*) of a Treatise on the Greek article, against Sharpe. M. is said to bear his mitre high in India, where the *regni novitas* (I dare say) sufficiently justifies the bearing. A humility quite as primitive as that of Jewel or Hooker might not be exactly fitted to impress the minds of the Anglo-Asiatic diocesans with a reverence for home institutions, and the church which those fathers watered. The manners of M. at school though firm were mild and unassuming." "A scholar and gentleman in his teens" and afterwards Calcutta's first Bishop—and never a belier of his early promise.

Here is a reference to another Zoffany painting to add to those previously noted on page 179. Henry Meredith Parker in "The Adjutant," after referring to various Indian fighters of renown, remarks—

- "But turn to greater heroes—chief of which is
- "A punchy looking man with crimson breeches
- "As Zoffany has painted—by his side
- "Stands Jaffier Ally Cawn; to whom you know
- "The British warrior, with a modest pride,
- "Is lending half a sovereignty or so.
- "Jaffier looks blandly, with a smile paternal,
- "But nathless wishes Satan had the Colonel.
- "The Colonel!—a Napoleon in his sphere,
- "Grasping as brave, unscrupulous as wise;
- "A kind of legal, regal, bucaneer
- "Who treated empires like a Spanish prize;
- "Took, spoiled, broke into fragments; but alive,
- "Or dead, few mate with that same Colonel Clive."

To the Zoffany pictures might possibly be added the "Death of Captain Cook, 1779" in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital. Though not an Indian subject it may have come from the artist's brush when in India.

On page 178 I quoted a piece of vernacular doggerel about the old ensign of John Company. Another version, taken from "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque" (Vol. I., p. 134) by Fanny Parkes, published in 1850, reads—

- Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan,
- Bankes Leek ne marleo Hindostan,
- Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan,
- Lall, lall kourtee, koes jawan
- Hart min Putter kullee, pet per tosdan
- Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.

Agi, agi Pultan, peche peche sowar
 Top ke dunkar se baghe Hindoo Musulman
 Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.
 Dus dus Company jin min gorae gorae Captan
 Godamee fire bolte, nikul jaoe amsan
 Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.

In the same work are found many Oriental proverbs; here are two—

"Plant a tree, dig a well, write a book, go to Heaven."

"He who has the stick, his is the buffalo."

A local antiquary tells me that somewhere in the files of the old *Calcutta Gazette* is a reference to the arrival of Milton, the horse-dealer in Dhurrumtollah, luckily bringing his "mews" with him; and in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* this impromptu on a shrew (I quote from memory)—

"Mills, wheels and hammers, stop your trivial noise—

"For you are nothing to my lady's voice :

"She drowns the sound of mill and wheel and hammer,

"I only wish she'd drown herself—oh— —!"

Mr. E. W. Madge has written very fully on Calcutta's "Forgotten Bards" in the *Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Recorder* of May 20-25 and June 10, 1895, and devotes himself to *Anglo-Indian Hymn Writers* in the *Statesman* of December 22, 1907. All these articles are, as is usually the case when the result of Mr. Madge's researches are given to the world, of considerable moment as historical records.

Mr. Wilfred Whitten's book "London in Song" is before me, an admirable anthology of Poetry and Verse with "London" as its theme. When shall we possess "Calcutta in Verse"? Material abounds for the purpose from the pages of Hicky's *Gazette* to the newspapers of 1908. The work of the true poet should be garnered in, the passing squib (often of more than ephemeral interest) not barred admission and even the productions of Indian poetasters in English should have a place. A line of one of them still haunts my memory. The "Poem" was on "Calcutta," and our leading business thoroughfare is thus immortalised—

"This is Old Court House Street—a street of beauty rare

"Where the great Jewellery emporiums at each other glare."

Who reads Henry Meredith Parker nowadays? And yet his *Bo'se Panjis* (the Punch Bowl) published in London in 1851 but written here

"Where Ochterlony's Column proudly rears

"Its melon to the still astonished spheres,"

is full of the true poetic ring while free from the repudiation of the wise conventionalities of the versifier's art.

A chance cutting from the *Indian Daily News* of about 1894, now on my table, recalls vividly that departed local atrocity the horse tram-car of antiquity—

"Hal! bandho! bandho! loud I bawl
 "Ek dum si! Kubberdar!
 "The horse suspends its sickly crawl,
 "I occupy the car.
 "The driver jerks, the coolies shove,
 "The baboos shout out 'maar!'
 "But, hang me, if all this will move
 "The Dhurramtollah Car."

Our never-to-be-forgotten Minto Fête will very likely be best enshrined in memory by the *Englishman* of February 9, 1907—

"If seven men spent seven lakhs
 "For several million tries
 "Do you suppose, the Bailiff said,
 "They'd draw a single prize?
 "'I doubt it' said the Buckilag—
 "And wiped his streaming eyes."

In 1867 "*Lays and Lyrics*" appeared in volume form; its author, W. H. Abbott, Junior, was Registrar of the Diocese of Calcutta. As "*Pips*" he broke out into squibs and parodies, clever, racy and humorous but local and of temporary interest. A Mr. George Galloway published in Calcutta in 1843 a volume of sacred poems somewhat stilted in style and stated in a preface that he was prepared to meet with meekness "the attacks which the pen of sarcasm might indite." This roused "*Pips*" who responded—

"Should Pegasus e'er turn to grass,
 "And wander from his stall away,
 "We'll mount Apollo on an ass
 "Or, just the same, a Galloway."

A discussion having arisen as to the best division of the twenty-four hours, Sir Edward Coke, the lawyer, wrote

"Six hours to sleep, in law's grave study six,
 "Four spent in prayer, the rest on nature fix!"

But this was capped by Sir William Jones, the Orientalist and a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal:—

"Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,—
 "Ten to the world allot and all to Heaven!"

Sir William was with Dr. Samuel Johnson a member of the famous Literary Club, and Johnson presented a copy of his *Persian Grammar* (1772) to Warren Hastings.

The expression of the following amiable sentiment is attributed to no less a personage than Warren Hastings—

"A serpent bit Francis, that virulent Knight."

"What then? 'Twas the serpent that died of the bite!"

The lays of the young East Indian, Derozio, are not to be found upon the bookshelves of this generation, but I believe an attempt is now being made to publish them in something like completeness. Here is a re-discovered fragment from the poet's pen—a pen which with the maturing of years would most probably have purged itself of too pronounced a reliance on the formulæ and accepted traditions of the Byronic School.

"To Henry Meredith Parker, Esq., B.C.S., the following tribute of admiration is respectfully inscribed.

"Delicious minstrelsy alone can bring

"Down to this earth the rainbow hues of heaven;

"And oh! to fly upon an angel's wing,

"To highly favoured bards alone is given—

"To weave a deathless wreath of leaves and flowers

"None but the gifted poet's hand may dare;

"To gild with sunshine this bleak world of ours

"And chase its darkness is the minstrel's care.

"Bard of our sunny land, and golden sky!

"My heart has gladdened o'er thy magic lay;

"Tis like the hymn of seraphim on high,

"That once awakened never dies away—

"My soul hath drunk it—and it is to me

"Sweet Bard! a draught of immortality!"

There was once a great hubbub in the Calcutta papers about the appointment of Mr. Beadon, the able Secretary to the Government of Bengal, as Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium on the ground of supersession of seniors, and Mr. H. W. Torrens' scholarly muse propounded the following:—

"Beadon o'er seniors bounds away,

"And back to naught doth thrust 'em,—

"A most uncustomary way

"To reach the Board of Custom.

"Nay, says the *Friend*, I must beseech

"Don't blame (for 'taint his fault) him

"The rule has always been to reach

"The Board of Salt *per saltum*,

" Well quoth some superseded elf,
 " Don't mind, I've got one hope, I'm
 " Sure e'er all's done, he'll be himself
 " Beadon,—the Bored of Opium."

Our chief complaint against Torrens is that while his verse is fragrant with charm and *verve* it is almost silent as regards Calcutta.

H. M. Parker in *Châteaux en Espagne* writes of the Calcutta of his boyish imagination:—

" Says I, in that metropolis,
 " They call it there of Palaces—
 " That glowing Heliopolis
 " Where fortune fills men's chalices—
 " I'll have a marble residence,
 " Rich marble baths and fountains
 " With a commanding view from thence
 " Of the Himilayah mountains."

but subsequently confesses that the ideal was not as the real—

" The Palace City which he sketch'd
 " Into vast splendour starting,
 " Like one by Pirenisi etch'd
 " Or Babylonian Martin,
 " He finds half rubbish and half glare,
 " Whitewash and green venetians,
 " Straw roofs, and orders which I swear,
 " No Romans knew or Grecians."

I have already quoted from "The Adjutant" which has no allusion to any gentleman of the Regimental Staff but to that venerable, sad, not to say austere bird which formerly ornamented the housetops and monuments of Calcutta—the *Ardea dubia* or Gigantic Heron of Bengal. I have looked in vain in *Calcutta Old and New* for a reference to his final disappearance from our landscapes. The exit of a popular citizen of such importance surely merits a passing notice?

Verse has been busy too with our domestics. Here is "Our Dhoby."

" This is the dhoby man smiling and black—
 " He takes away TEN and brings PANCH COLLAR back,
 " When I say to him Dhoby-man, this will not do!
 " He says TEEN COLLAR took Sahib, I giffin' you TWO."

while a writer in the *Calcutta Philatelic World* of September 15, 1895, in continuance of "Aliph Cheem's" misbeliefs concerning India in the *Lays of Ind*;

" That Missionary hardships would move you to pity ;
 " That tigers are common and ayahs are pretty,
 " And that sweet English girls by the P. and O. carried
 " By hundreds are no sooner landed than married "

adds—

" That elephants prance in the streets of Calcutta
 " Where leopards and cobras stroll wild in the gutter !
 " That a coolies' drink and a gharry's a hackary.
 " That Macaulay was born there, or p'raps it was Thackeray.
 " That a poojah's a fruit, and that everything's gurrum ;
 " That Doorga was mated to Mr. Mohurrun :—
 " And that all through the place the great Ganges goes rippling
 " With the Taj, Madame Gomez, the Kutub, and Kipling."

But our anthology would soar at times into the true poetic atmosphere. " Rose Aylmer's grave " has enriched English literature at its best. It has not merely, however, inspired Lander but also our townswoman, Mrs. Fleming, a sister of Mr. Rudyard Kipling. All know " A. M. F.'s " poem beginning—

" An English grave 'neath Indian skies
 " Marked by a sullen stone ;
 " And this is where Rose Aylmer lies
 " Fair, flowerless and alone."

It saw the light originally in *Temple Bar*.

The same lady has written " Some Old Calcutta Graveyards " of " more than a hundred years ago," opening with—

" Here they rest by the world forgotten,
 " Under sarcophagus, pillar, and urn,
 " Stones are crumbled and rails rust rotten;
 " Since they trod the path that has no return.
 " They, from England, so far removed here,
 " They could not dream how we come and go,
 " Those who ruled and who lived and loved here—
 " More than a hundred years ago."

And finally there is Mr. J. J. Cotton's " Madam Grand " (" wife of mighty Tallyrand.")* It appeared in the *Englishman* of May 21, 1897, and two only of its verses are now quoted.

* In the recently published *Historical Essays and Studies* by Lord Acton there is an amusingly correct reference to Madame Grand. " In 1796 he (Tallyrand) found himself restored to France in the embarrassing company of a lady who had got France into trouble before him. " This is a good " let off " for France!



A SEPARED PORTRAIT OF COL. & LADY MORGAN.
(Photo kindly supplied by H. S. Kims, C.J.E.)

"Was it that half Danish air"
 "Of your birthplace made you fair?"
 "Surely some ambitious star"
 "Watch'd that night at Tranquebar,
 "And a more than human hope—
 "Cast the childish horoscope—
 "How you were reserved to reign
 "Queen of Ganges, Queen of Seine.
 "Does your spirit haunt the floor
 "Of that house in Alipur—
 " *Vin-a-vis* to Francis set
 "In the spectral minuet.
 "All Calcutta came to you—
 "Fit obeisance to do—
 "What a story could you tell
 "Girlish Ghost, *jadis si belle!*

"Let's talk of graves and worms and epitaphs."

It will interest Mr. Cotton, with many others, to learn that the tomb of "Hindu" Stuart (*vide* photo facing page 213 of Vol. I) has been repaired, and Mrs. Barwell's tomb (*vide* the same page) appropriately restored and indicated as the result of the action taken by our Society. Our next endeavour might be to settle, if possible, the birthplace of W. M. Thackeray and recommend a tablet in the event of success. The usually accepted story is that the novelist was born in a room on the ground floor of the present Armenian College building, 39, Free School Street, on July 18, 1811, and "Fitzwalter" relates in the *Englishman* of December 7, 1906, that a picture of the house is given in Bishop Hurst's *Indika*.

This is the epitaph on Taretta's wife (*vide ante*) in the smallest of the Park Street Cemeteries—

"Hic Jacet—Angelica de Carrion—Edwardi Taretta Tarvisini—Uxor Delectissima." (Her sister was M^{de} Roselyn de Carrion).

And this on a child in Park Street—

"Pure as the dew-drop on the lily's breast,
 "Bright as the star that sparkles in the west,
 "He came awhile to tremble and to shine,
 "Then rose like incense to the Eternal Shrine."

Sir W. W. Hunter in "Some Calcutta Graves" tells of Lady Anne Monson who sleeps by her husband in South Park Street (both graves now being nameless though formerly possibly indicated and certainly capped by a curious coping removed in the later eighties or early nineties) at

her ladyship (a great-grand-daughter of Charles II by Barbara Villiers) felt herself much too good for Calcutta. It was she who set afloat the story that Warren Hastings was the natural son of a steward of her father's, the Earl of Darlington. "If the men of that wrathful age lied about one another, how the ladies fibbed." "After lying speechless through the day," writes a diarist of February 18, 1776, "she (Lady Anne) departed last night at ten."

"Well," says Sir William, "the Englishman in India has no home and he leaves no memory." And again "*The Bengal Obituary*, that pathetically stolid jumble, now forms the best record of a century of tenderness and greatness and grief."

And Derozio :—

"Where are they now? gone to that narrow cell
 "Whose gloom no lamp hath broken or shall break,
 "Whose secrets never spirit came to tell—
 "Oh! that their day might dawn for then they would awake."

And another (by Thackeray's father's grave in North Park Street)

"Read here, how wealth aside was thrust,
 "And folly set in place exalted,
 "How heroes footed in the dust,
 "While lackeys in the saddle vaulted.
 "Methinks the tale is never stale,
 "And life is every day renewing—
 "Fresh comments on the old, old tale
 "Of Folly, Fortune, Glory, Ruin."

while *Hickey's Gazette* records that

"Mrs. Mary Bowers, died 1781, fidgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality."

The following by Sir W. W. Hunter is easy to understand: "Not a few Christian graveyards in this 'land of regrets' have had their genesis in the loss of a little child. Yet the solitary place in our small station had a beauty of its own. In its centre rose an aged tamarind tree which spread out its great arms and clouds of feathery foliage enough to overshadow all the graves. The oldest sleeper in that sequestered spot was a little girl. A judge of the last century lost his only daughter, and, in the absence of any consecrated plot of ground, buried her under the tamarind tree at the foot of his garden. On its lowest arm the father had put up a swing for his child. The branch yet showed swollen rings where the ropes cut into the once tender bark. Beneath might be read the inscription on the tomb :—' Arabella Brooke obiit Nov. 6, 1797.' Soon another father had to lay his child under the shade of the tamarind tree; and the spot was decently walled off from the rest of the garden

Less than seventy years added about thirty English tombstones; but the graves of little children still lay thickest."

Reading this, one seems to hear again the wail of Charles Kingsley's *Soldier's Widow in India*—

- " I had his children—one, two, three
- " One week I had them blithe and sound
- " The next beneath this mango-tree
- " By him in barrack burying ground.
- " 'Tis I, not they, am gone and dead,
- " They live; they know; they feel; they see;
- " Their spirits light the golden shade
- " Beneath the giant mango-tree."

The original Sookhsagar House (page 992) was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence. He started an English farm there. Baretto (was it Joseph or John?), the Mango Lane magnate, afterwards acquired it as a pleasure resort and added a Roman Catholic Chapel which his successor, Lauraletta, converted into an abode for mahouts and fighting cocks. House and estate have long since been submerged by the river. *The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Recorder* of January 10, 1905, republishes some verses "On the River, September 1829" copied from a very old number of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. I quote four out of nine of them.

" Sukh Sagar " (or the sea of delight.)

" Ode to the Mansion of the late John Baretto, Esq.

" (The princely Indo-Portuguese Merchant)

" deserted and without inhabitant, the writer having obtained entrance through one of the windows.

- " And see! where the desolate mansion of bliss
- " Stands silent, deserted and sad,
- " Where the dark tangled grass hides the serpents that hiss,
- " And the jackals alone are now glad,
- " Fast closed are the doors that were won't to unfold
- " For the idle, the busy, the gay,
- " Not a voice to be heard, not a face to behold,
- " Not an object to tempt a delay,
- " Like a thief in the night through the window I pass
- " To the hall where the feast was arrayed—
- " Where circled full freely the laugh and the glass
- And the revel till morning delayed.

* * * * *

"Baretto! the "ocean of pleasure" is crossed—
 "Did it land thee on shores of the blest?
 "Ah! haply the barque had more safely been lost
 "On an ocean by tempests distressed."

May we hope that the surprised reply to this pointedly personal enquiry was "Well, I'm blest"?

The Corporation of Calcutta pocket diary for 1908, a most useful publication as regards local information, records with much else the Chairmen of the Corporation from 1863 (the names of all officiating officers being in italics.)

V. H. Schatch	...	1-7-63 to 2-4-66	R. T. Green	...	7-3-98 to 27-11-98
Sir Stuart Hogg, Kt.	...	3-4-66 to 12-11-76	F. W. Duke	...	7-1-00 to 17-3-00
Herbert A. Cockrell	...	16-3-66 to 28-2-72	A. H. James	...	30-9-00 to 12-10-00
Utho Brown	...	1-3-72 to 6-1-73	R. T. Green	...	13-10-00 to 29-8-01
Herbert A. Cockrell	...	7-1-73 to 26-10-73	A. E. Sill	...	30-8-01 to 20-11-01
T. Metcalfe, C.S. L.	...	23-11-76 to 14-11-78	R. T. Green	...	21-11-00 to 14-8-03
W. M. Souttar	...	15-11-78 to 17-4-81	A. E. Sill	...	15-8-03 to 25-9-03
H. Bewley	...	10-3-80 to 19-10-80	R. T. Green	...	26-9-03 to 29-3-04
Sir Henry Harrison, Kt.	...	18-4-81 to 15-4-90	C. G. H. Allen	...	30-3-04 to 14-11-04
H. J. S. Cotton	...	6-3-87 to 9-11-87	R. T. Green	...	15-11-04 to 25-4-05
Harry Lee	...	16-1-90 to 31-3-95	C. F. Payne	...	26-4-05 to 26-6-05
J. G. Ritchie	...	6-7-92 to 24-9-92	C. G. H. Allen	...	27-6-05 to 15-10-05
"	...	25-3-93 to 31-3-95	C. G. H. Allen	...	16-10-05 to 14-8-06
J. G. Ritchie	...	1-4-95 to 13-4-96	C. F. Payne	...	15-8-06 to 21-9-06
H. C. Williams	...	14-4-96 to 9-12-97	C. G. H. Allen	...	22-9-06 to 9-9-07
W. K. Bright	...	19-3-97 to 9-12-97	C. F. Payne	...	10-9-07 to 10-10-07
W. K. Bright	...	10-12-97 to 29-9-00	C. G. H. Allen	...	11-10-07 to 31-12-07
			Sir Charles Allen	...	1-1-08

It publishes also an almanack with some local event of importance assigned to most days of the year. When will each member of the Calcutta Historical Society be in a position to use annual diaries of the Society's own production? I commend the idea to our Council as one worth thinking out.

My last article suggested that in the next edition of his book Mr. Cotton should publish lists of the Bishops of Calcutta and of the Winners of the "Viceroy's Cup." I then tendered a roll of the Lords of the Lawn and I now schedule the Monarchs of the Turf.

WINNERS OF THE VICEROY'S CUP, CALCUTTA.

Year.	Owner.	Horse.	Stayers.
1856	Mr. Payne	Nero	6
1857	Mr. Return	The Usher	6
1858	Mr. West	Meg Merrilies	5
1859	Mr. West	Meg Merrilies	5
1860	Mr. Healy	Corcomb	8
1861	Mr. Payne	Voltige	5

WINNERS OF THE VICEROY'S CUP, CALCUTTA.—(Continued.)

Year.	Owner.	Horse.	Starts.
1862	Mr. Manchoni	Gridiron	4
1863	Capt. Warlow	Lord of Clyde	7
1869*	Mr. W. W.	Favorite	9
1870	Mr. W. W.	Favorite	5
1871	Mr. Minton	Partisan	9
1872	Mr. Ali Abdalla	Satellite	7
1873	Mr. Maitland	Kingscraft	5
1874†	Mr. C. J. Collins	Maid of Athens	7
1875	KhaJa Asmoolah	Satellite	6
1876‡	KhaJa Asmoolah	Satellite	7
1877	Mr. Maitland	Kingscraft	6
1878	Mr. Maitland	Kingscraft	5
1879	Mr. Herbert	Cherist	5
1880	Mr. Herbert	Blue-light	5
1881	Lord W. Beresford	Camilla	5
1882	Mr. J. Wilson	Salvage	5
1883	Mr. Henderson	Godard	7
1884	Mr. Apsar	Statesman	9
1885	Mah. of Darlungah...	Metal ...	18
1886	Mr. Gasper	Merrary	9
1887	Lord W. Beresford	Myall King	7
1888	Lord W. Beresford	Myall King	5
1889	Mah. of Darlungah	Pennant	9
1890	Lord W. Beresford	Myall King	6
1891	Mr. Apsar	Moorhouse	5
1892	Mah. of Cooch Behar	Highborn	8
1893	Mah. of Cooch Behar	Highborn	6
1894	Capt. Orr-Ewing	Metaphic	8
1895	Mah. of Patiala	Sprightly	9
1896	Mah. of Patiala	Sprightly	8
1897	Lieut. Col. J. Dewarj Urs	Leinster	9
1898	Mr. Mackie	Vanitas	12
1899	Kour Sahib of Patiala	Cherry	10
1900	Mah. of Jodhpore	Up Guards	11
1901	Mr. Anandji Nanji	Tobal Cain	11
1902	Mr. Giltsun	Vasto	11
1903	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apsar	Great Scot	7
1904	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apsar	Great Scot	11
1905	Dr. Spooner Hart	Long Tom	6
1906	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apsar	Flagstaff	11
1907§	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apsar	Flagstaff	7

* No race during Lord Lawrence's Viceroyship.

† In 1874 there was a walk over.

‡ Owing to the Imperial Meeting at Delhi the Viceroy's Cup was run for this year. A Prince of Wales Cup was substituted, which Satellite won after a dead heat with Lord Collins.

§ In 1907 Flagstaff was in the record time of 2 minutes 4 seconds.

In the early years the race was for Three Miles. Since 1897 the distance has been 1½ miles.

In the *Journal* of December 22, 1907, "R. D." writes on Calcutta Theatricals of the Past and his valuable notes, somewhat condensed, are now made use of:—

The Old Playhouse in Lal Bazar represented one of the first places of theatrical enterprise, and at the siege in 1756 formed a point from which Suraja-ud-Dowla's artillery battered the Fort. There seems to be ground for a supposition that the premises known as No. 8, Lal Bazar immediately opposite the Police Headquarters are part of this Playhouse. It has the semblance of a place of amusement and a comparison of maps of 1753 and later show a near approach to the location attributed to it. This Old Playhouse was used by amateurs who are stated to have derived assistance from David Garrick himself, for it is recorded that they sent him "two pipes of Madeira" as a present in 1772 in acknowledgment of the trouble that he took to promote their theatrical attempts. Of the next theatre known as the "New Playhouse" built about 1760, we have record in Mrs. Fay's "Original Letters from India" and the manuscripts of contemporary authorities. The New Playhouse stood on the site occupied by Messrs. Finlay Muir and Co.'s offices on the north-west corner of Lyons Range and was built by subscription. The scenery appears to have been furnished from England under the supervision of Garrick, who sent out a Mr. Messinck* for the purpose.

In the first number of *Hicky's Gazette*, dated January 1780, we have the announcement of the performance of "The Beaux Stratagem" and on February 16, 1786, there was produced Rowe's "The Fair Penitent" and we are assured that the fulness of the house "did infinite credit to the liberal sentiments and humane feelings of the Settlement." The farce of "Bon Ton" followed. In the same year Handel's *Messiah* was "performed," "a delicious treat to lovers of musick." Then appeared the farce of "Who is Dupe?" and the musical entertainment of "The Padlock."

From an advertisement in the *Gazette* of 1786 the tickets for "She Would and She Wouldn't" were one gold mohar Boxes and 8 sicca rupees Pit!

On September 27, 1787, was staged "The Poor Soldier" and the farce "Chrononhoton-thologus," on January 1, 1788, "Richard the Third" went off well with merited éclat and was followed by Foote's comedy of "The Author." In "The Merchant of Venice" Shylock was "accurate and spirited and Portia elegant and interesting." The "Vauxhall and Fireworks" at Cossinaut Baboo's Garden House "in the Durrumtollah" provided a diversion and was run under the able auspices of Mr. Gairard with the assistance of a French Military adventurer whom Compton styles a "cook, pyrotechnist and poltroon."

* Some interesting references to Bernard Messinck may be found in Burton's *Sketches* and Mr. Fanning's *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal*.

Murphy's comedy "The Way to keep Him" found its way to Calcutta and was greatly appreciated; while Mrs. Bristow's "private theatre" in Chowringhee was the scene of "The Sultan" and "The Padlock," in the former of which the hostess excelled herself as "the English slave in an Ottoman Seraglio." "The Révenge" followed by the farce "The Irish Widow" was staged at the Calcutta Theatre in 1789 for the benefit of a certain wooden-legged veteran appropriately styled Mr. Battle; while another benefit of "The Grecian Daughter" was tendered for a Mrs. Crucifix. In 1789 we find "She Stoops to Conquer" and in 1808, the last year in which the "New Playhouse" was used, a production of Molière's "The Cheats of Scapin" was staged. A Mr. Lebedeff opened a theatre "by permission of the Hon. the Governor-General" in Durrumtollah in 1795 and it was advertised to be "decorated in the Bengali style" and to open with an Indian serenade.

To harken back, however. There was a theatre in Wheeler Place, or Government Place West, whose audiences were extremely select to judge from the "Caution" published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 23, 1797:—

"A certain person who made her appearance amongst the company in the auditory on the first night of the performance, is desired to take notice that in future she will not be permitted to remain in the house should she be so ill-advised as to repeat her visit."—Theatre, Wheeler Place.

In the Chowringhee Theatre in 1814 were presented "The Rivals" and "Fortuno's Frolics." In 1819 were "Bon Ton" and "Raising the Wind." The Dum Dum theatre furnished "Love, Law and Physic" and "The Review, or the Wags of Windsor." At the same time the Athenæum, opened in 1812 at 18, Circular Road, "with a view to securing a respectable and select audience," staged "The Point of Honor" and some humorous farces.

Some well appreciated pieces at the Chowringhee Theatre were "All the World's a Stage," "Ella Rosenberg," "The Finger Post, or Five Miles Off," "Past Ten O'clock or a Rainy Night," "The Upholsterer or What News?" "The Miller and his Men," "The Agreeable Surprise," "Ladoiska" and "Three Weeks after Marriage."

The "subscription theatre" was built at the south-west corner of Theatre Road, adjoined Ballard's Buildings and amongst those who graced its boards was Mrs. Esther Leach. A reduction in the prices of tickets is noticeable in the year 1824. They were: Rs. 8 for boxes and Rs. 6 for the pit. This theatre continued to flourish till destroyed by fire on May 31, 1837. The next theatre that comes into prominence is a temporary one built by Mrs. Leach at the corner of Government Place and Waterloo Street, the site now occupied by Messrs. Cuthbertson and Harper. Here in August 1839

she produced "The Hunchback" and continued her successes till 1840, when the "Sans Souci,"—now St. Xavier's College—was erected, mainly through the activity of Mr. Stocqueler of the *Englishman*. Here Mrs. Leach established herself, opening with Knowles' "The Wife," in March 1841, and continuing practical proprietress of the theatre for two years. Of one of the actresses, Mrs. Deacle, Stocqueler records the opinion:—"Had not her devotion to Bacchus interfered with her attention to the rights of Thalia and Melpomene, she might have been valuable." In 1843 the Sans Souci was the scene of a tragedy, Mrs. Leach, playing the part of Mrs. Wyndham in "The Handsome Husband," was burned and died from the effects. The closing of the Sans Souci followed and the next theatres which came into notice were Van Golder's Lyric Theatre in 1857, the Lyceum on the maidan, Lewis' Theatre Royal and the Opera House. Of the plays that followed from the Mutiny period it would be impossible to give an adequate record; of the players, however, we had Dave Carson of "Bengali Babu" fame and Mr. C. J. Mathews, who appeared at the Opera House (or English Theatre) before H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The prices of the seats were upper tier boxes Rs. 1,000, lower tier Rs. 500, and stalls Rs. 30 each.

The Stanleys, "Tommy" Hudson, the Broughs, the Dalias and Bandmann Companies are of our own era.

"On page 204" (writes Mr. Sanial) "it is stated that the *Englishman* first appeared in 1833 under the title of the *Englishman and Military Chronicle*. This is incorrect. In the Imperial Library there is a file of the *Englishman* of 1833 from which it is clear that the title under which it first appeared on October 1 was simply the *Englishman*. In the following year, 1834, when the *India Gazette* was amalgamated with the *Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle*, the *Englishman* opened its columns to military matters. Hence, most probably, from July 1834 the *Englishman*, devoted in part to military subjects, became the *Englishman and Military Chronicle*."

"On the following page" (to again quote Mr. Sanial) "it is said that Charles Thackeray, uncle of the novelist, 'was among the leader-writers and during the eight years which preceded his death (in 1846) a frequent contributor.' This is not altogether correct. When the *Englishman* was started in 1833 Charles Thackeray was secured for the paper, but after a year or so, he and the editor, Stocqueler, disagreed and separated. From 1836 Charles Thackeray was permanently on the staff of the *Bengal Harkaru* and his best writings were done for that paper until his death. A glance through the files of the *Bengal Harkaru* of 1836 and 1837 will show with what acrimony Charles Thackeray used to attack Stocqueler, the editor of the *Englishman*."

An instructive series of articles on "Pillars of Indian Journalism" appeared in the *Journal* during February and March 1908 above the initials "S.C.S."

"On page 210 Mr. Cotton passes a panegyric on the *Friend of India* and certifies that during the editorship of the younger Marshman, its influence had been of the most elevating kind and 'under its modern daily garb of the *Statesman* it has forfeited none of its early reputation.' This requires some modification. When the *Friend of India* was taken over by Robert Knight in 1875, the veteran journalist wrote an article called "Ourselves" in which he totally denied the beneficial influence of the *Friend* under the editorial charge of Marshman. He plainly said that it was a hireling organ of the Government secretly subsidised to support the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. Next the *Statesman* is called the "modern daily garb" of the *Friend of India*, which on page 998 is called the progenitor of the *Statesman*. These remarks are quite wide of the mark. The *Friend of India* has never been converted into a daily paper. On January 1, 1877, it was amalgamated with the *Statesman*, and since then, with some intervals, it has been the weekly edition of the *Statesman*. On page 998 it is stated also that the first Bengalee newspaper was printed at Serampur (in 1818). This is an error. The first Bengalee newspaper was printed in Calcutta in 1816, two years earlier than the publication of *Samachar Darpan* to which Mr. Cotton refers."

Mr. Cotton's reticence on the subject of Clive's Calcutta street fight is amazing. It is referred to on page 176 of my last article and was dwelt upon by Sir Stuart Bayley in a lecture "Lord Clive and his Part in the Foundation of the Indian Empire" delivered to the Royal Society of Arts and published in its *Journal* of November 22, 1907. Clive had taken up a position to the north of Calcutta at Cossipore. The Nawab professed anxiety to negotiate, but, while preliminaries were going on, Clive found that the Nawab's army was marching round on his right flank into Calcutta and that his camp followers were deserting and his communications likely to be cut off. So he determined to attack and did so before daybreak on February 4, 1757. He penetrated easily enough into the midst of the Nawab's camp, and then found himself enveloped in a thick fog. In consequence there came about a want of cohesion in his force, and he was badly mauled; his own artillery firing into his leading lines. However, he got his men together and brought them safely out of their difficulty; and the result was so to impress the Nawab that next day he withdrew his army and entered into a treaty acceding all Clive and Watson had stipulated for, *viz.*, the confirmation of all the Company's privileges, restoration and compensation for the plunder of Calcutta, to which was added, on Suraj-ud-daula's initiative, a mutual offensive and defensive alliance. But another result was that the Nawab's mind was so upset that

henceforth he fluctuated between hatred and fear of the English, so that all confidence in him on the part both of his own people and of the French, who might have helped him, was lost.

That an incident of such supreme importance should be passed over by any Calcutta historian is almost unpardonable. Upper Circular Road preceded Plassey as the scene of an engagement of a momentous character as it can never be estimated to what extent the overwrought manhood of the enfeebled Nawab received its deathblow somewhere in the vicinity of the present Jain temples at Maniktola on that fog-wrapt February morning. It is possible that much of Clive's apparent foolhardiness later in the year was due to the personal experience he gained of the incapacity of Chiragh-ud-daulah ("Lamp of the State") as a leader of men when almost face to face with him in Calcutta. But for Watts at Kasim Bazar there would have been no Clive at Plassey and but for Circular Road there might also have been no Plassey for either Watts or Clive to worry about. It is very strange that there may be to-day men living whose grandfathers were alive in the early days of 1757 and yet the site of a battle with world-moving consequences that took place within easy walking distance of Government House cannot be fixed upon. Surely among the archives of our courts, the records of our treasurers, the shelves of our libraries, the deed-boxes of our lawyers, the recesses of our thousand and one private safes and strong boxes there must be evidence lurking of the exact spot where the thickest of the fight occurred. Who will drag it to the light? A public open space with a mighty obelisk in the centre would be the enduring outcome of a successful quest.

The reference on page 334 to the dispatch of a message on the back of a playing card from Clive to Forde (his second in command in Bengal) prior to the latter's attack on Chinsurah is one of those stories which ought to be true. It would be pleasant to find confirmation of its veracity. Was the card "The Joker"?

Sir Stuart Bayley told the Royal Society of Arts that Clive's mother was a Miss Gaskell and that her sister was the first wife of his (Sir Stuart's) great grandfather; and, for some reason not explained, Clive from about 3 to 10 years of age was brought up by the Bayleys near Manchester. He also traces the name Plassey to the *Palas* tree which abounds in the vicinity of the battle-field.

Mr. Cotton might note in a future edition that the present Turf Club building in Theatre Road was an early headquarters of the East Indian Railway. On page 582 James Drinkwater Bethune should be John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune. He did not found the Society which bears his name. It was started on December 11, 1851, as a memorial by his friends after he had passed away. The statement on page 689 that Alexander Elliott was

a son of the first Lord Minto is inaccurate—they were brothers. On page 287, Mr. James Hume is wrongly described as the son-in-law of Mr. H. W. Torrens. Mr. J. T. Hume (the present Public Prosecutor) was Torrens' god-son. On page 319-20 the description of the punkahs at 7, Hastings' Street is inaccurate (*vide* p. 85 of this Journal) and the reference on page 359 to Chandernagore as a "Naboth's vineyard" is absurd. At the time of the siege there was war between England, and France and the Nawab was known to be intriguing with Bussy.

The collection destined for the Victoria Memorial Hall has recently received some notable additions, two ancient Persian daggers with enamelled gold sheaths having been bequeathed by His Highness the late Mir Mohamed Hassanali Khan, Talpur, C.I.E. The sheath of one bears the following Persian inscription in enamel:—"Mahomed Hadi Sheralli-Karmalli Khan Mir-dauran who is the life and soul of the world, on the battle-field his sword is like a crocodile in the sea of Oman. This verse is but a small token offered unto him," while the handle of the other contains a strip of iron with a Persian inscription meaning:—"Say, that God is one, and he neither eats nor drinks; neither is he born, nor does he bear, nor is there any one related to him," and at its junction with the blade:—"Sirkar Mir Mured Ali Khan, Talpur."

Another gift is a suit of Georgian furniture presented by Syed Sirdar Ali Khan of Haiderabad. It comprises 24 chairs, 3 couches, 11 columns or stands and 4 teapoy originally made for the Regent's Pavilion at Brighton. On the sale by order of Parliament of the Pavilion and its furniture the E. I. Company purchased it for their Resident at Haiderabad and it was in use there until about five years ago.

An excellent portrait of John Zephaniah Holwell (1711-1798) of Black Hole memory, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, has been secured for the Hall. It was discovered in Canada, where his descendants are living, and was obtained through the kind offices of Lady Minto. The picture measures 2ft. 2in. by 1ft. 10in., and represents Holwell dressed in a purple-red coat and wearing a wig. In May, 1896, it was exhibited by Mrs. Elizabeth H. F. Holwell, a descendant of the original, at the Art Institute of Chicago, where it was recognised as the work of Sir Joshua on the strength of certain entries in Holwell's diary recording his sittings to the artist.

Some time ago the Maharaja of Durbhangah lent a small ivory table and teapoy, formerly the property of the famous Tippoo Sultan. The Trustees, it is stated, are trying to secure these relics as a "perpetual loan" from the Maharaja.

Mirza Said-ud-din Ahmed Khan of Loharu has contributed an illustrated copy in manuscript of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in the hand-writing of Shah Rukh

Beg, a well-known artist who died in 1880—also a very valuable group of portraits in which Bahadur Shah, the eldest son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is shown seated on the throne, with his four sons, seated in front and his grandson standing. He has further given three ivory paintings, one of Fakr-ud-dowlah Nawab Ahmed Bakhsh Khan of Ferozpur Jhirka and Lahoru, drawn by Golam Ali Khan of Delhi, one of Nawab Ziauddin Ahmod Khan of Lahoru, and one of himself by Muhammed Fazl, another artist of Delhi, who died in 1895.

The Trustees of the Memorial have issued a statement of accounts up to 31st December 1907. The subscriptions total Rs. 56,11,196-15-2, and the interest earned on the money invested amounts to Rs. 9,70,450-10-1, making a grand total of Rs. 65,81,647-9-3. The outstanding subscriptions amount to Rs. 5,65,033-9. The expenditure amounts Rs. 10,12,845-12-11, leaving a balance in the Bank of Bengal of Rs. 50,03,768-3-4.

In looking through a heap of timed-stained books at the Cathedral Library, the Librarian (the Rev. W. K. Firminger) has come across a manuscript letter of Father Anthony Monserrat, S.J., to Father Aquaviva, the then General of the Society of Jesus, bearing the date 1591. It is not quite clear whether it is an original or an ancient copy, but the copious deletions and additions, seem to favour the first alternative. The manuscript has been bound in book form, and the label "Monserrati Sacerdotise" is probably responsible for an error on the part of the Imperial Library when they made the work over to the Cathedral apparently with the idea that it was of purely theological interest. It is an account of a very early Jesuit legation to the Court of Akbar, and contains what must be one of the earliest extant maps of India which can claim to be really scientific. In the map, so far as Bengal is concerned, we find Satgaon, the Portuguese "Little Port," Goll (Hughli) and Betor (Sibpur), where the old Portuguese vessels lay at anchor, while country-craft conveyed their merchandise up the almost vanished Sarasvati River to Satgaon. It is with some propriety that the book has become the property of the Cathedral Library, for it passed from Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William to the Metcalfe Hall collection, and was most probably given to the College by its Vice-Principal, the Rev. Clandius Buchanan, the man to whose strenuous and successful efforts was due the creation of the See of Calcutta in 1813.

The personal factor in Indian regiments has always had an influence for good. It has been said that during the Mutiny the loyalty of regiments faithful to the Crown was largely due to the regard and affection of men for officers. The significance, therefore, of a ceremony which took place on December 20 last, at the Circular Road Cemetery cannot be overrated. The 13th Rajputs, accompanied by colours and band, and an escort in review

dress, marched from Alipore to the cemetery where Colonel Henry Forster, C.B., who raised the old Shikhowati Brigade (now the 13th Rajputs) is buried. He died on October 9, 1862. The regiment, which has since left for Hong Kong, was met at the Cemetery by Colonel W. Prior, Major Evans and other officers. Following the example of the officers, each file deposited a floral tribute and saluted. The regiment then halted forming three sides of a square, and the Sabadar Major read in Hindustani an account of Forster's career and the founding of the regiment. The colours were lowered on the grave and the bugles sounded "The Last Post" to the accompaniment of muffled drums. Amongst those present was an aged Chowdhry, who remembers Forster and had long been connected with the Regiment. It added that the tomb of Forster is shortly to be restored at the expense of the officers of his regiment.

It is pleasant to learn that as the result of enquiries made by Babu Kamakhaya Mohun Banerjee the Government of India have issued instructions for the restoration of the raised type inscription which formerly appeared on the frieze of the west portico of the Metcalfe Hall and for the replacement of the existing tablets on the gate pillars by new ones with the words "Imperial Library Metcalfe Hall" inscribed on them.

It would appear that at the time of the conversion of the Metcalfe Hall into the Imperial Library, the vandalism of tearing down the original inscription, bearing Lord Metcalfe's name, from the frieze of the Hall, was committed so that nothing remained to connect the building with its original purpose.

To the list of local memorials may be added an unassuming pillar publicly unveiled by Sir Andrew Fraser at Bhowanipore on January 11, 1908, to record the gallant attempted rescue of a coolie from a sewer in 1907 by Nafar Chunder Kundu who lost his life in the attempt.

The opening early in 1908 of "Chowringhee Mansions" on the site of the old United Service Club in Chowringhee is worthy of a passing note, a portion of the Kyd Street ground floor being opened as a Post Office in place of the godown in Park Street used for many years for that purpose.

The formal opening of an important extension of the Dufferin Zenana Hospital may also be recorded. On February 17, 1908, Her Excellency Lady Minto, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, declared the new buildings open for the use of patients, thus inaugurating a largely increased sphere of usefulness for this valuable institution.

This magazine, according to its title, is devoted to the Past and Present of Bengal. I may be wrong therefore in using its columns on behalf of the future of the Province, and if this be the case I hope I shall be pardoned for the following suggestions.

There is a rumour abroad that the vacant wall spaces above the altar in St. Paul's Cathedral are about to be filled in with frescoes. I feel sure I am but echoing the opinion of many when I urge the great desirability of first taking down and rebuilding the wall before providing the frescoes. The beauty of our church is largely detracted from by the severity of its east end, and that the provision of an apse behind the chancel would enhance its attractions cannot be denied. It should be both the privilege and the duty of the English residents in Calcutta to see that by the imposition of expensive frescoes at this junction a long desired improvement is not indefinitely delayed. The matter is purely one of bricks and mortar, the land being already there. When any public movement is initiated for adding to the charm and utility of the church it should embrace also the restoration of the organ to the west end (its natural position in a Gothic edifice), the deepening of the transepts, and the placing in suitable prominent positions of the Cornwallis, Warren Hastings and Heber statues.

At the Clive Street corner of Writers' Buildings, almost on the site of the lost church of St. Anne, is a dwarfed, dumpy, octagonal building which few realise contains the Legislative Council Chamber of the Government of the Province. The building is quite a modern one and has no architectural, antiquarian, or historical interest. It does scant justice to a magnificent site and the cost of its demolition and rebuilding would probably soon be recouped by the extra accommodation provided by a taller edifice. Writers' Buildings themselves would be architecturally improved by the provision of a tower at their Clive Street corner, just as was the Palace at Westminster by the erection of the Clock and Victoria Towers. My idea of a "parliament house" worthy of Bengal would be a building architecturally in keeping with the main features of Writers' Buildings but rising at least to the height of the Post Office dome and thus over-topping the pinnacles of the "temples of trade" springing up in the vicinity. Its ground floor would be a spacious vestibule entered directly from the street with noble staircases leading to the Council Chamber and walls frescoed with scenes in the history of the city. Above the chamber, committee and record rooms and, high over all, at the outside summit of the tower the statue of Clive, dominating Clive Street, and well beyond the reach of the malevolence of his detractors.

To the appendix of books about Calcutta should be added

Eden, Hon. Emily.—*Up the Country*: 1837-40. Richard Bently, London. 1866.

Grant, Colesworthy.—*Rural Life in Bengal*, *Letters from an Artist in India*. By the author of "*Anglo-Indian Domestic Life*." Illustrated. W. Thacker, London. 1860.

Parkes, Fanny.—Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque.
2 vols. Illustrated. Pelham Richardson,
London. 1850.

The brochure of which mention is made on page 194 of our first volume is entitled "The Surprise of Calcutta." It purports to be by Ivan Batinskha and gives an account of the bombardment and capture of Calcutta by a Russian Fleet and Army. Calcutta, 1890. The "Sydney C. Grier" of Mr. Cotton's bibliography is Miss Hilda Gregg.

The new edition of "Hartly House" upon which the late Mr. Macfarlane was engaged at the time of his death has been entrusted to Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, and Mr. Firminger is busy upon another edition of Mr. Fay's "original letters from India" (1817). Both works will be published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. In the meanwhile what has become of the concluding volume of the *English in Bengal* which at the time of its learned author's death was, it is understood, almost completed?

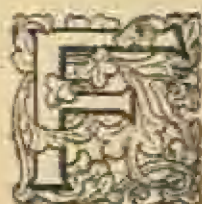
WILMOT CORFIELD.



Echoes from Calcutta's Poets' Corner.

*An Ode written by Warren Hastings on board the "Berrington" on his
voyage from Bengal to England in 1785, addressed to John Shore,* Esq.
In imitation of Horace, Book II., Ode 16.*

Optum Divos, &c.



OR ease the harass'd sea-man prays
When equinoctial tempests raise
The Cape's surrounding wave ;
When hanging o'er the reef he hears
The cracking mast, and sees, or fears,
Beneath, his wat'ry grave.

For ease the slow *Mahratta* spoils,
And hardier *Sikh* erratic toils,
While both their ease forego ;
For ease, which neither gold can buy,
Nor robes, nor gems, which oft belie,
The cover'd heart bestow.

For neither gold nor gems combin'd
Can heal the soul or suffering mind,
Lo ! where their owner lies :
Perch'd on his couch distemper breathes,
And care, like smoke in turbid wreathes,
Round the gay ceiling flies.

He who enjoys, nor covets more,
The lands his father held before,
Is of true bliss possess'd.
Let but his mind unfetter'd tread
Far as the paths of knowledge lead,
And wise as well as blest.

* *Now*.—Afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

No fears his peace of mind annoy,
Lest printed lies his fame destroy,
Which labour'd years have won ;
Nor pack'd Committees break his rest,
Nor avarice sends him forth in quest
Of climes beneath the sun.

Short is our span ; then why engage
In schemes for which man's transient age
Was ne'er by fate design'd ?
Why slight the gifts of Nature's hand ?
What wanderer from his native land
E'er left himself behind ?

The restless thought and wayward will,
And discontent attend him still,
Nor quit him while he lives :
At sea, care follows in the wind ;
At land, it mounts the pad behind,
Or with the post-boy drives.

He who would happy live to-day,
Must laugh the present ills away,
Nor think of woes to come ;
For come they will, or soon or late,
Since mixed at best is man's estate,
By Heaven's eternal doom.

To ripen'd age Olive liv'd renown'd
With lacks enriched, with honors crown'd
His valour's well-earned meed.
Too long, alas ! he liv'd to hate
His envied lot, and died too late,
From life's oppression freed.

An early death was Elliot's doom :
I saw his opening virtues bloom
And manly sense unfold ;
Too soon to fade, I bade the stone
Record his name, midst hordes unknown
Unknowing what it told.

To thee, perhaps, the Fates may give,—
I wish they may,—in health to live,
Herds, flocks, and fruitful fields ;
Thy vacant hours in mirth to shine ;
With these, the muse already thine,
Her present bounties yields.

For me, O Shore, I only claim,
To merit, not to seek for fame,
The good and just to please ;
A state above the fear of want,
Domestic love, Heaven's choicest grant,
Health, leisure, peace, and ease.



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

I.—PLASSEY, BERHAMPORE, COSSIMBAZAR.

*What of the day? For the day is awake and the cane is awake hard by.
Out and away, for the morn is fair and the ankle-band but frail,—
The young sun talks to the whispering earth and the shrill song'd
amorous sky—*

Out and away, while the dawn is grey, on the track of the long-trod trail!

*Mind ye the day when the land loosed flame, and the cane lay red in the
mire,*

*When the scarlet sons of the strong white North belched death to a
turbanned world,*

*And the raddled flanks of our sires ripped wide a roadway of blood
and fire*

*Through the tumbled host? It has come again with the Flag of the North
unfurled.*

*Rede ye the Flag, O ladies and lords, (for the yellowing cane lies wide),
Out from the crags whence the north lands look full front to the listening
sea,*

*Whose ships go down to the amber flood where the great sea-hathis ride,
The eloquent turbulent wave-flung Flag—the Flag of the bold and the free!*

*What of the cord? O brothers and wives. For the cane is atoss in the
breeze,*

*And we are elact of the wide wild globe where the jungle consorts reign.
The waste hursts call and the winds blow sweet through the scent of the
clamorous trees,—*

Up and afar, where the brave folks are, at the snap of the witless chain!

*Where is the rope that shall stay my start when the sap in the cane calls
loud,*

Or the tether-pole that shall stand the rack of the tug of my naked might?

Out and away, for the day will die in the lap of a sedulous cloud,

*And we shall be free, where the wise ones be, at the dawn of a star-
gemmed night.*



THE arrangements necessary for the excursion to Plassey involved considerable preliminary foresight and work. All concerned lent themselves readily towards effecting the success achieved, but our special thanks are due to Mr. G. Huddleston, C.I.E., the Traffic Manager of the East Indian Railway, who personally facilitated the negotiations with the Eastern Bengal State Railway which procured an excellent special train of first-class carriages and a magnificent dining saloon. Our thanks are also due to Mr. F. D. Kiernander, the courteous Traffic Superintendent of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, for the consideration shown throughout the conduct of the business arrangements. Our gratitude to H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad, to his Dēwan, and his Secretary, requires the most ample acknowledgment.

The Special Time Table, prepared by the Railway authorities, was, with all possible loyalty, adhered to throughout the excursion. Somewhat abbreviated it reads as follows:—

EASTERN BENGAL STATE RAILWAY.

TIME TABLE OF SPECIAL TRAIN FOR THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

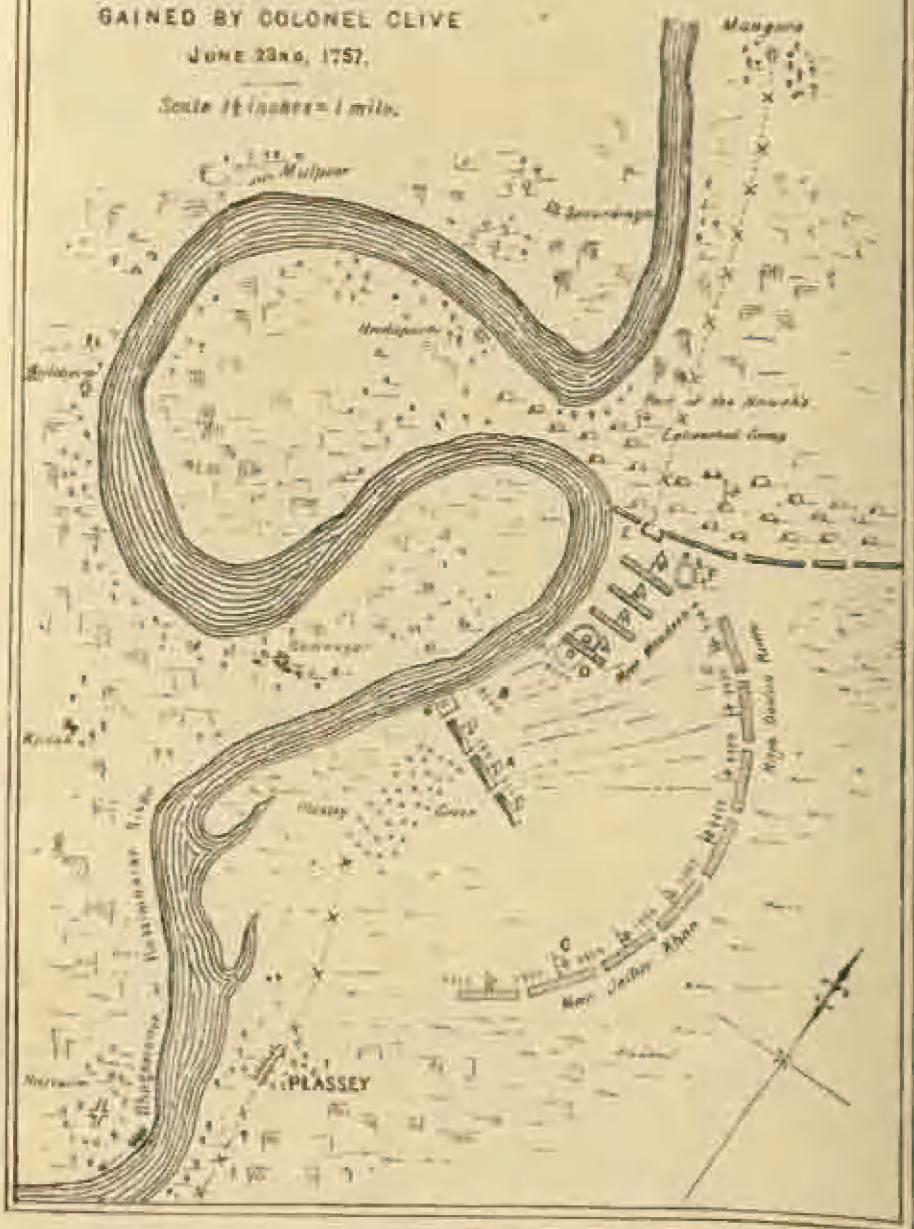
From Calcutta to Cossimbazar and back on Friday, the 13th, and Saturday, the 14th December 1907.

Miles from Calcutta.	Stations.		Standard Time.		Calcutta Time.		REMARKS.
...	Calcutta	Dep.	H.	M.	P.	M.	On 14th Dec. 1907.
			23	0	11	24	
					A.	M.	
21	Naihati	Arr.	...	13	12	42	
		Dep.	...	25	12	50	
46	Rauaghat	Arr.	1	40	2	4	
		Dep.	1	45	2	9	
94	Plassey	Arr.	4	45	5	9	
		Dep.	9	50	10	14	
105	Beldanga	Arr.	10	11	16	37	
		Dep.	10	18	16	43	
116	Berhampore	Arr.	10	41	11	3	
	Court	Dep.	10	46	11	10	
118	Cossimbazar	Arr.	10	51	11	15	

BATTLE OF PLASSEY GAINED BY COLONEL CLIVE

JUNE 23rd, 1757.

Scale 1/4 inches = 1 mile.



REFERENCE.

A POSITION OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT 8 IN THE MORNING.

B FOUR BUNS ADVANCED TO WHICH THE FIRE OF THE FRENCH PARTY AT THE TANK D.

C THE ENEMY'S ARMY.

D A TANK FROM WHENCE THE FRENCH PARTY GARRISONED TILL 8 IN THE AFTERNOON WHEN PART OF THE BRITISH ARMY TOOK POST THERE, AND THE ENEMY RETIRED WITHIN THEIR ENTRENCHED CAMP.

E & F A REQUEST AND HONOUR TAKEN BY A SAULT AT HALF-PAST 8, AND WHICH COMPLETED THE VICTORY.

G THE RAKED MORTAR BATTERY.

THE LINE MARKED X REPRESENTS THE INCURSIONS OF THE RIVER UP TO AT LEAST 1800.

Miles from Cossim- bazar.			Return.			
			H.	M.	P.	M.
...	Cossimbazar	Dep.	12	30	3	54
	Berhampore	Arr.	15	35	3	59
2	Court	Dep.	15	40	4	4
		Arr.	16	26	4	50
25	Plassey	Dep.	16	36	5	0
118	Calcutta	Arr.	19	36	5	0

A representative of Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd attended and secured some excellent photographs of the day's proceedings. Messrs. Kellner & Co. supplied the refreshments.

The Hon. Mr. Justice and Mrs. Rampini, both recently back from England, were among the party. Our Editor's "Programme" was on this occasion more than usually useful. It contained a map of the Battle of Plassey, views of the field, and one of the Berhampore Barracks. The present writer does not pretend to give in this place a descriptive account of "Plassey's fight" and readers are referred to Mr. Firminger's brochure for an outline of the main features of the historic conflict.

Sealdah platform, after a late dinner on a cold December night, is not the most inviting meeting-place for a large body of ladies and gentlemen ready for a night's repose: most of us were probably fast asleep long before the train was steaming through Naihati. Plassey was reached about 5 o'clock and our friends, the glittering elephants, drawn up in line close to the station proffered greetings in the chill grey dawn of a glorious morning. His Highness, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, with the help of neighbouring zemindars, had very kindly provided thirteen superb animals for our use. All these magnificent mammoths were suitably caparisoned and furnished with bells whose musical notes added to the unique charm of the occasion. Before our start *Chota Hazri* in the train had fortified us for a three-hours elephant-ride, and the tandem line of "earth shaking" beasts went on its memorable trip so soon as full daylight illuminated the great expanse of picturesque open country. The guide-elephant carried Mr. and Mrs. Firminger and Khan Bahadur Fazl Rubhee, Déwan to the Nawab: and its proud mahout bore aloft the *Nishan* of the Society—henceforward to have the word "Plassey" embroidered on its historic folds. Possibly generations of mahouts yet unborn will tell their children of the great day when a notable ancestor carried the banner of the Sahibs across the mighty plain at the head of a goodly train of *hathis* with more English ladies on their backs than Plassey will probably ever see again. On the second elephant

rode Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, the author of the *Musnud of Murshidabad*, a work with which members of the Calcutta Historical Society should be familiar, for it deals with a district which has played a brave part in the development of India's settled prosperity. The work is ably compiled and is of distinct value coming as it does from the pen of an Indian writer of distinction. The D wan Sahib, Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, and Mr. Firminger lent themselves as guides to the places visited, and their information and advice proved invaluable as aids to the instruction and enjoyment of the party. Our mounts soon got into their stride, and with swaying bells to the cheery call of the drivers, they forged ahead for the scene of one of the most decisive conflicts that the world has ever known. Jackals fled at our approach, horses, buffaloes, goats and cattle stood and stared, startled for the passing moment by the strange gleaming procession of giant beasts; the villagers, straight, upstanding, gaily clad, country folk, flocked from far and near to wave a smiling welcome, and our peaceful army of invasion carried all before it. At one point, however, matters took a rather nasty turn, for a venerable tusker, whose grandfather might well have borne Clive himself upon its howdah, re-developed inherited instincts with a peculiarity for running down a crowd and did his best, by charging and other censurable conduct, to upset the general suavity of the cavalcade. At first his behaviour was the cause for general laughter—there is usually a comic elephant attached to most well conducted circuses—but, on the discovery becoming general that his intentions were strictly malevolent, his speedy expulsion from the company followed, and it was hailed with the greatest relief, his fellow quadrupeds trumpeting delight at his disappearance into the offing, contesting every step of the way with the keepers.

An inspection of the field of battle followed: it was soon apparent that the whole day might profitably have been spent in the study of the various positions occupied by the contending armies. The river, it is true, has effaced a portion of the ground and the mangoe tope has gone, but it may be said with certainty that the remark often heard that to visit Plassey is merely to take a peep at an uninteresting expanse of mud and water is utterly false. The fact is that the river had again receded, and the time of our visit was beyond all expectation opportune. Points of importance are officially marked by walled-in beacons bearing explanatory notes as to their significance and a handsome (though somewhat dwarfed) monumental pillar (erected and placed there during Sir Rivers Thompson's Lieutenant-Governorship) bears the simple inscription "Plassey erected by the Bengal Government in 1883." Very soon, it is hoped, Lord Curzon's great obelisk will be *in situ* on the mound outside the village. All



PLAQUE. AT THE RAILWAY STATION.
(*Photograph by Morris Brown and Stephens*)



PLAQUE. THE MONUMENT IN THE CENTRE ON THE SITE OF THE
MANOE GROVE.
(*Photograph by Morris Brown and Stephens*)

the drawings for it were completed before his Lordship left India, and the bronze work has been months ago executed and delivered.

A portion of the tank is still visible in the vicinity of which St. Frais, the obdurate Frenchman, with his brave little band of Europeans, planted guns and hurled defiance at the successful capturers of Fort Orleans (Chandernagore), the rude disturbers of France's dream of an Empire in the Orient. The view from the British position is superb. In the immediate foreground facing dummy representations of Clive's cannon are similar representations of St. Frais' artillery. To the east of both the British and French lines could easily be imagined the enormous crescent occupied by the Nawab's army with Mir Jaffar's contingent nearest to the present Plassey railway station, and that of Doolub Raim converging upon the mound immediately behind St. Frais' position, the successful assault of which completed the British victory. Away, behind the mound and to the north, could in the far distance be detected a white flag glittering from some eminence and this, as Mr. Firminger at the top of his stentorial voice tried to tell us, marked the site of the enemy's entrenched camp. Still further north lay Murshidabad for which the stricken rabble made as speedily as possible when the day, June 23, 1757, had been finally lost and won.

The return to the railway station was full of pleasant incident. At one point a field of sugar-cane proved too tempting for our four-footed friends who enjoyed themselves plucking huge bunches to be packed away in their trunks and carried carefully until required for later consumption. Much uneven ground was crossed, and here and there a formidable bund had to be negotiated. An elephant can go down a steep place with both grace and celerity—he merely tucks in his hind legs so that they act as breaks. The writer's mount at one point was a little ahead of the rest and he landed safely on the level at the foot of the far side of a well raised bund. The others followed, eleven, well nigh abreast, and the sight of the great beasts descending, with the shouting mahouts, the laughing riders, the colours of the dresses of the natives and those of the lady members of the party made up as gay an avalanche of movement and merriment as any that could linger in the memory. Here was the moment for a vividly stirring photograph—one of those good things the opportunity for which has gone for ever.

The railway station reached, adieu was bidden to our escort. Breakfast was served (to two parties) *en route*, and the train reached Berhampore according to scheduled time. Here we were met, on alighting, by the courteous representative of the Maharajah of Cossimbazar who had with him an ample assortment of handsome conveyances to conduct us round the neighbourhood, visiting on the way Berhampore, Syedabad, Kalkapor and Cossimbazar. The Collector's house at Berhampore (said to have been

occupied by Clive) was passed and the Cemetery fully inspected. It contains the tombs of Colin Shakespeare, a cousin of W. M. Thackeray, and the usually accepted original of Joseph Sedley of "Vanity Fair" fame; also that of "Little Henry," the precocious original of Mrs. Sherwood's story, *Little Henry and his Native Bearer*, so precious to the religious world of early and mid-Victorian days. The child died in 1807, but his brother, the Rev. Henry Martyn Sherwood, is still living and in charge of a Worcestershire parish. The tomb will shortly be in course of renovation by Government, in response to a representation as to its decaying condition made by the Rev. Canon Cole of Calcutta. Here also lie Henry Creighton, an early authority on Gaur and its ruins; Captain James Skinner (1773), the paternal uncle of the celebrated raiser of "Skinner's Horse," and George Thomas, the Irish commander of the Begun Sumroo's levies, who became Rajah of Hariana and died in 1802 after defeat by one of Perron's French Generals. Thomas' grave bears no inscription, but it was confidently pointed out by a local official and identified by Mr. E. W. Madge, our "Old Mortality," from an old engraving. It is in urgent need of renovation. Our party then drove to the Kunjaghatta Rajbari, where Kumar Debendra Nath Rai kindly received us. A part of the Rajbari was once the house of Nancomar (more correctly Nanda Kumar), the notorious Brahman and, according to Macaulay, "the blackest monster in human form;" it is a commonplace and more or less dismantled building of no architectural importance but it bears a tablet erected at Lord Curzon's wish; thence, past the site of the French Factory to the Dutch and English cemeteries of Cossimbazar. In the former (at Kalkapur) the oldest monument is dated 1721, but the handsomest, a tall beautiful pillared erection with a cupola pierced by openings, bears no indication as to its origin. There is also a monument to Gregorius Herklots, chief of the settlement and cousin of Gregory Herklots of Chinsurah. In the English enclosure lie the first Mrs. Warren Hastings (previously the wife of Captain John Buchanan) and her infant daughter, and Mrs. Sarah Mattocks, a descendant of John Hampden. The site of the old Residency is close by, marked by a lofty mound from the top of which was viewed a wide and picturesque landscape. Time and the state of the roads did not admit of a visit to the deeply interesting Armenian Church at Syedabad.

Another drive brought into view the gaily decked palace of Manindra Chandra Nandi, Maharaja of Cossimbazar, a descendant of Kantoo Babu, so well known to students of the life of Warren Hastings. The residence has a strikingly handsome exterior and the stately arches of Cheyt Singh's house, brought piecemeal from Benares, have been built into its fabric. Under these historic arches a sumptuous repast awaited the visitors and



The Carved Arches brought from Cheyt Singh's house at Benares
and erected in the Palace of the Maharajahs of Cossim Bazar,
under which the present Maharajah entertained
the C. B. S.

(Photo kindly supplied by H. H. the Maharajah of Cossim Bazar.)



NYNCUMAK'qHIMAR AT FUSSEM BAZAR.
(Photo by S. A. Perri, Esq.)



BREHAMPUR RESIDENCY CEMETERY.
 The cross marks the site of Geo. Thomas' grave.
(Photograph by S. A. Perri, Esq.)

the hospitality of the Maharaja surpassed all bounds. The ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood had been invited to meet us, and a most pleasurable "at home" despite our dust-clad garments resulted, the little son and heir of the host making a most favourable impression upon all. Before leaving, the Honorable Mr. Justice Rampini in a most felicitous speech thanked the Maharaja on behalf of the Society for his generous hospitality and the Maharaja replied in appropriate terms. A hearty farewell was accorded to Mr. Mazumdar just before the party left the station at Cossimbazar on its return journey to Calcutta, after which a substantial tea was served in the train.

II. THE JAIN TEMPLE, MANICKTALA.

The new year's operations began on Saturday afternoon, January 4th, with a pleasant and well attended visit to the famous and picturesque Jain Temple at Manicktala, the northern suburb of Calcutta, in or near to which on February 5th, 1757, took place the skirmish (much harder as a fight and far bloodier than Plassey) between Clive and the defenders of Suraj-ud-daula's armed camp.

The visit was made on the invitation of Rai Buddree Das Bahadur, the well-known Jeweller, and his son, Rai Kumar Singh. To the regret of all, however, the former was prevented by indisposition from receiving his guests, but the Rai Kumar Singh conducted the party over the buildings and grounds.

Among those present were the Hon. Sir Francis and Lady Maclean, the Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini, the Tilkha Sahib of Nabha, Dewan Fazl Rubbee and Mr. P. C. Mazumdar. The guests were garlanded and several photographs were taken. Those who inspected the shrine itself had to divest themselves of boots or shoes and wear special slippers provided. The visitors, after partaking of light refreshments, adjourned to the drawing-room to hear a few words from Mr. Heera Chand on Jainism and the history of the Temple, after which a vote of thanks to the hosts was passed on the proposal of Mr. J. de Grey Downing. The buildings were subsequently illuminated.

Unfortunately no report was taken of Mr. Heera Chand's interesting lecture but, as it is only right that in this place something should be set on record as to the Jains and their general history, this extract is taken from Mr. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, a book in which the native religious bodies in Calcutta receive much attention.

"Jainism," writes Dr. Hoernle, "is the only one of the almost primeval monastic orders of India which has survived down to the present day, although until quite recent years its very existence before the middle ages was denied by the learned world."

"Neither Buddhism nor Jainism are religions in the strict sense of that word. They are rather monastic organisations. The old Brahmanic religion ordained man's life to be spent in four consecutive stages, called *Asramas*. A man was to commence life as a religious

student, then proceed to be a house-holder, next to go into retirement as an anchorite, and finally to spend the declining years of his life as a wandering Sanyasin or mendicant. These Sanyasins or Brahmanic mendicants form the prototype of the great monastic orders that arose in the six century B.C., the only difference apparently being that the Brahmanic mendicants never formed themselves into such large organizations as the Buddhists and Jains." A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E. *Annual Address to the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1933.*

"It is a still popular error that Buddhism and Jainism originated in a revolt against the Brahmanic caste; but the formation of the non-Brahmanic monastic orders must have been promoted by the tendency of Brahmins to confine the mendicant stage of religious perfection to members of their own caste. On becoming a Jain caste is not renounced, and, in the old times the Jain layman, while choosing a Jain monk as his spiritual director, would have repaired to a Brahmin priest for the performance of religious ceremonies.

"The founder of Jainism was Vardhamana, the son of Siddhartha, the head of a Kshatriya class called the Natas or Nayas who had settled at Kollaja, one of the three remaining portions of the once powerful city of Vesali. The reader who is making no long stay in India will probably be unaware of the fact that the Kshatriyas were the noble caste who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan invaders, but even the average Anglo-Indian does not realise that in the older time the Brahmins (i.e., the priestly class claiming descent from the families of Rishis who composed the Vedic hymns), had developed no claim to precedence as a caste. "When," writes Sir W. Hunter, "the Brahmins put forward their claim to the highest rank, the warriors or Kshatriyas were slow to admit it; and when the Brahmins went a step further, and declared that only members of their families could be priests, or gain admission into the priestly caste, the warriors disputed their pretensions. In later ages, the Brahmins having the exclusive keeping of the sacred writings effaced from them, as far as possible, all traces of the struggle." The term "caste" is derived from a Portuguese word and is misleading when applied to conditions of life in India in the days when Buddha preached the doctrine of the threefold noble path.

"Vardhamana or Mahavira was born about 599 and died about 527 B.C. Buddha, his greater rival, lived between 557 and 477 B.C. Both were sons of petty princes, and both commenced their mission amid the Kshatriyas, and both laboured within very much the same geographical area. At the age of thirty Mahavira became a monk, but as he had adopted absolute nudity as an essential practice in the saving faith, he parted from the monastic home of his clan and wandered through North and South Bihar. After many years of preaching, he was at length acknowledged as Mahavira the "Great Hero" and Jina "the spiritual conqueror." Hence the name Jain in company with the Buddhists, the Jains reject the Vedas of Brahminism. It is their belief that by unremitting discipline holy men can be perfected as was their founder, into Jinas or spiritual conquerors. Time for them proceeds from two eternally recurring cycles of immeasurable duration—an "ascending" and a "descending" cycle, each being broken up into six stages of bad-bad, bad, bad-good, good-bad, good, good-good. At present (or at least until quite recently), we are in the bad stage, although even in this stage twenty-four Jinas have been deified. The world is formed of eternal atoms and includes various hells and heavens. The principal ethical maxims are: 1. Do not kill or injure. 2. Do not tell lies. 3. Steal not. 4. Be chaste and temperate. 5. Desist nothing immoderately. The Buddhists, as keen missionaries, prize "three jewels"—the Buddha, the law and the order; the Jains more contemplative and inert, seek likewise three jewels—right faith, right cognition, right conduct. The Jain layman participates in the spiritual benefits emanating from the monastic order; the Buddhist layman is not in communion with the monastic body, and in fact may also attach



THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF SYRAJ-UD-DAULA'S
ASSASSINATION.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnson and Hoffmann.)



AT THE JAYVANGANI PALACE.

ROUGH MAP OF MURSHIDABAD CITY SHEWING THE CHIEF PLACES OF INTEREST.



himself to other organisations without losing what the Buddhist order has to offer. It is not hard to see that here we have one of the causes of the survival of Jainism and the disappearance of Buddhism in the motherland of the two systems. When the Mohamedan conquest burst over India, the Buddhist monasteries already thinned out under Brahmanic pressure disappeared; and the monks once gone, lay Buddhism remained very much as in *Alice in Wonderland* the Cheshire Cat's smile remained after the departure of the Cheshire Cat. An account of "caricatured survivals of Buddhism in Bengal" by the learned Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895.

"It only remains to be said on the score of Jainism in the abstract that the founder's practice of absolute nudity which about 57 A.D. led to a great schism between the "White clothed" and the "ahyad" or unclothed monks, and is now honoured in the branch rather than the observance thereof. The two sects of Jains exist, but their differences chiefly concern the clothing or absence of clothing on images, the number of heavens, etc."

The Temple has often been described, but a few words may not be uninteresting to those who have not as yet visited it. Branching off on Upper Circular Road, in an easterly direction, runs a street which takes its name from the Temple and conducts the visitor to a fine gateway. The shrine itself, in the Jain style of architecture, is dedicated to Sital Nathjee, the tenth of the *Trithankaras*, or Jain prophets. A flight of marble steps leads up to the Temple, the most beautiful in Calcutta, round three sides of which runs a verandah. The interior of the building is profusely ornamented, the mosaic decoration as well as the glass and stone work being specially noticeable. A chandelier with a hundred and eight branches embellishes the sanctuary. Cleanliness reigns everywhere.

There is also an elegantly furnished parlour, as well as reception-rooms, guest-houses, and other accommodation. No description of the place would, however, be complete without some mention of the delightful grounds. In addition to the usual features of well-kept gardens there stands in the centre an artistic fountain, while around are interspersed garden benches and statuary.

Apart from testifying to the wealth of the Jain community, which would surely have abundant reason to feel proud of these palaces of glittering sunshine, the building (with its surroundings) is a standing monument to the good taste of the venerable and charitable founder, who built it about forty-one years ago.

III.—MURSHIDABAD.

*All the troubled town of Murshed—
(Where Bhagirath's sounding gong
Chariot borne and blest of Brahma
Drew the cleansing streams along)—
All the waiting walls of Murshed
Saw him thread the startled throng.*

*Every shouter of the atan
From the minarets on high
Knew the blind and voiceless rider,
Saw the hathi shamle by,
Heard an earless fakir's laughter,
Heard the broken mother's cry.*

*Skrill the chant and veiled the weepers
While the women fringed the roof,
Clenched the fist and hard the visage
Where the warriors looked aloof,
As the burdened beast strode onward,—
Crimson—tusk and hide and hoof.*

*See him masquerade as monarch
Selled above in sloven state,
Past the Burags peacocked splendour,
Past the Imambara Gate,
Headless of the Rani's daughter
As of winsome Faizi's fate.*

*Where below the river wanders
Still they head the plodding van,
Foot the ford and mount majestic—
Mammoth monster, mangled man,—
To the Khoshbagh's marbled silence,—
To the side of Verdi Khan.*

*All the ruffled hold of Murshed
Drummed and droned in cadence meet,
Decked him with the Meccan tusbi,
Wrapt the scented winding sheet,
Piled the earth of sweet Korbella
Gently at his head and feet.*

*Back from sleep to life and laughter,
Leave the trellised garden height,
Through the streets the English cannon
Rumble in from Plassey's fight—
For the nishan of the Northland
Drapes the musnad of to-night.*



ROAD LEADING TO KIDELA-MUJID, MURSHABAD.
(Photo by A. de Cassan, Eng.)



"THE WORLD'S DESTROYER."
(Photo by A. de Cassan, Eng.)

*Set the World's Destroyer talking,
Let the bell bulged belfries reel,
Be it known that kingly Juffar
Lords beside the Moti Jhil,—
While the Lake of Pearls reflecteth
Burnished blades of English steel.*

*Every age is as the ages,
Every life a turn at chess,
And the Master of the Tourney
Moveth all, without redress,—
Rajah, rook and pawn and camel,
As he listeth through the press.*

*Hear the creed the hathi trollath—
Mothers' tears are ever wet,
Fakirs' laughter ceaseless echoes
To the dazed bazar's upset,
'Tis our lesser sins undo us,—
Earless fakirs ne'er forget.*

*In the gambit lists of Being
On Life's peopled chequer-deck—
Ware the queen, the horse, the bishop,
Would ye ward an after wreck;
Yet remember laughing fakirs—
For a pawn may give the check.*

*Sleep is peace and death is living,
(Though the world in discord fret)—
There within the portals folded
Mercy pleads with Justice yet;—
As of old a sworded Angel
At the wardened gate is set.*

*Mercy kneels with praying pinions,
And the guard keeps flaming ward
Till the shining choir proclaimeth
All the judgment of the Lord—
To the moving hinges' music
When the scabbard eats the sword.*

*Still the lofty line of Jaffar
 Lifts the northern-Asian high
 (Where the broken mother staggered
 While the dreadful dead went by)
 In the crumbled courts of Murshed
 Where the Lake of Pearls is dry.—D.K.*

Murshidabad is, next to Calcutta, the most fascinating city in Bengal for the historian. The cradle of British rule in the province and associated with some of the most stirring events in the story of India, it is necessarily full of the liveliest interest for antiquarians and sightseers. It was in 1710 that Murshed Kuli Khan, a converted Brahmin, Dewan of Bengal, removed his capital there from Dacca. The name of the place was originally Maksudabad (or Muxadabad) and according to the old geographer, Tieffenthaler, it was founded by Akbar. The main industries are silk and ivory-carving.

The Society's Excursion on Friday and Saturday, the 31st January and 1st February, was as successful as that to Plassey and its neighbourhood. The special train left Sealdah a little earlier and returned a little later than its predecessor: scarcely a berth was empty and extra accommodation for late applicants had unfortunately to be refused. Mr. Justice Rampini was among the large number travelling, and Mr. P. C. Mazumdar and Dewan Fazi Rabbee again acted as guides, while Mr. Firminger's special handbook and Mr. Mazumdar's *The Musnad of Murshidabad* proved of very real value to the expedition. For an entertaining article in this connection the reader is also referred to the *Calcutta Review* for April 1892, containing "Old Places in Murshidabad" from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge. The most ambitious work on the subject, however, is Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh's *History of the Murshidabad District*. Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann and others did good work with the camera, and Messrs. Kellner & Co. were caterers.

A little timely rain at daybreak served to lay the dust. After *chota hazri* in the train, the party proceeded in carriages provided by His Highness the Nawab Bahadur to visit the historical places of interest in and near the city. It was soon evident that the greatest care had been taken in advance to add to the pleasure of the day, placards were posted along the line of route indicating the buildings and positions to be noted, here and there special arches were erected to welcome the Nawab's guests, and no trouble was spared to render the excursion a memorable one in the annals of the Society.

The impressive Khatra Musjed, built by Murshed Kuli Khan in 1723, was first visited. There is a coloured view of it in Hodges' *Select Views in*



AT MURSHIDABAD.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnston & DeGunn.)



CROSSING THE BANIGIRATI.
(Photo by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd.)





HURREESH CHAND'S TERRACE adjoining the site of the house of the Jagat Seths. The carved stones in the foreground are from Goa.



TOMBS OF THE NAWAB NARIN OF MURSHIDABAD.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman.)

India. It is the ruined mausoleum of the founder of the city, the earthquake of 1897 having played havoc with what had been previously standing of a vast structure. It is said to have at one time held two storeyed cells for 700 Kari or Koran readers. The tomb of the founder, who is buried under stairs leading up to the terrace of the mosque, is alone kept in repair and a kari was seen reading the Koran there. Thence to the Artillery Park containing the great gun called Jahan Kosha (the destroyer of the world) made in Dacca in 1637. It originally rested on a wheeled carriage, but is now embedded in a *peepul* tree which has lifted it *en masse* some four feet from the ground. The muzzle commands the whole length of the Katra jheel. The mosque of Itwar Ali Khan, Jaffar's Nawab Nazir, or chief eunuch, is known as Kadam Sharif and contains a stone removed from Gour bearing an impression of the foot of the Prophet of Arabia. The Mobarak Manzil was built for the East India Company and courts were held there from 1765 to 1781, when they were removed to Calcutta. On the terrace in front stood the throne of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal and upon it Clive placed Jaffar at Mansurganj after Plassey and himself sat on it side by side with Najmuddowla at the Moti Jheel in 1766. It is now in the Victoria Hall Collection in Calcutta. The Moti Jheel or Lake of Pearls occupies part of a deserted bed of the Bhagirathi. Shahamat Jang built there a sangidalan or stone hall, a mehalsara or harem, and a mosque. He lived there with his wife Ghasiti Begum, the daughter of Ali Verdi Khan, and after his death Suraj-ud-daula captured it from the Begum and may have marched thence to the battlefield of Plassey. Near by is a Baraduary or house with twelve doors built by Mir Jaffar. Clive and Warren Hastings, Carnac, Sir John Shore, and other great Englishmen are closely associated in history with this delightful spot. The only building extant of Shahamat Jang's days is a moss grown doorless chamber 65 feet long, 23 broad and 12 high said to contain enormous treasure. No one dares, however, to break open this masonry box as a curse is supposed to be upon any would-be disturber of its contents. It is said that at dead of night and on particular occasions an aerial procession, visible only to the fortunate few, starts from the tomb of Shahamat Jang at the Moti Jheel and proceeds to that of Mahabat Jang at the Khoshbagh, three miles away on the other side of the river. The Calcutta Historical Society, however, visited the Khoshbagh under less romantic circumstances (being still in an age when the air-ship is but in its infancy) and reached the further shore with the aid of the handiwork of Dykes and Steuart, some elephants and a barge or two. It was a fine drive and all were really pleased to renew acquaintance with several old friends from Plassey (accompanied by others) and to experience once again the charm of an elephant ride. On this occasion there were hardly enough elephants to go round, but the actual water crossed was comparatively narrow and a

goodly array of horses ready saddled and bridled, added picturesque effect to our cavalcade's ascent to Amaniganj and the family cemetery of Ali Verdi Khan. There sleeps Ali Verdi Khan, the large hearted, on the whole a friend of the English, and of whom it is said that he was perhaps the only prince in the east whom none of his subjects wished to assassinate. There also rests Suraj-ud-daula, the potentate who, after the fatigue of a busy and somewhat disappointing day in Calcutta, forgot all about the disposal of the brave defenders of the river-hold whose privacy he had violated and went to sleep and left them to the mercies of a heartless soldiery. Let us think of him, not as an active accomplice of wholesale murder, but as the ruler who, on returning to Murshidabad after the tragedy of Old Fort William, on meeting Holwell and his compatriots led in chains along the streets of the capital, noticed them from the opening of his palanquin and at once ordered their release. The Khoshbagh contains other family tombs of the dead dynasty. To leave it is to possess a restful sense of the sweet abiding unimportance of the things of this world.

Farewell to the elephants and breakfast followed. The former once again on the near side of the river, and the latter in a spacious shamiana in the railway station compound. And after lunch more getting in-and-out of carriages, more miles and miles of history writ in the ragged diminutive bricks of a former age of architecture, more tombs, and broken gateways, and even and always more pleasurable experiences of satisfied enlightened curiosity.

First to the Nizamat Cemetery within an enclosure at Jaffarganj, the burial place of Mir Jaffar and the Nawabs Nazim to Humayun Jah. The last of the Nawab Nazims, Syud Mansur Ali Khan (Feredun Jah) slept here for a time. He died on November 5, 1884, and his remains were ultimately removed to Kerbella in Arabia. The Begums' enclosures are walled-off from the cemetery proper. Close by is the Deori, the residence of Mir Jaffar when Commander-in-Chief of the Suba. The audience hall is now an Imambara. Here took place the last secret conference before Plassey between Watts, the Company's chief factor at Cossimbazar, Mir Jaffar, and the latter's son, Miran. Watts arrived in a palanquin disguised as a purdah nasheen lady of the harem and was received in one of the apartments of the seraglio. Had there been no Watts, there would have been no Plassey.

Authorities are not agreed as to the exact spot of Suraj-ud-daula's murder. The most authentic accounts, however, place it in the compound of the Deori a remote portion of which was pointed out as the actual scene of the occurrence by Shahzada Faiz Ali Khan, a descendant of Mir Jaffar, in person. The dead prince was paraded through the streets past his mother's house and then borne across the river for interment at Khoshbagh. Among his acts of



GRAVES OF THE NAWAB NAZIM,
JAYTARGANJ CEMETERY, MURSHIDABAD.
(*Photograph by A. de Cotten, Esq.*)





IN FRONT OF THE JAFARABADI PALACE.
(The Native Gentleman in the centre of the group is the direct descendant of Mir Altran.)



PORCH OF THE JAFARABADI PALACE.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman.)

private iniquity are related attempts to secure Tara, the widowed daughter of the Rani Bowhani, and the walling up alive of Faizi, a dancing girl of exquisite beauty. On fleeing to Rajmahal with his wife and favourite women after Plassey he was recognized by a fakir whose ears and nose he had caused to be cut off, and, on betrayal, seized and taken back to his capital.

The ruins of Jagat Sett's house at Mahimapore include the remains of an old mint supposed to have been established in or about the year 1727. On entering the enclosure are seen blocks of granite marble in the form of columns and arches of a Jain Temple dating from about 1570 which it is understood were desired by Lord Curzon for the Victoria Memorial.

There is also a Hindu Temple adorned with porcelain tiles built about the year 1801, a greater portion of which collapsed during the earthquake of 1897. Over the temple is an inscription in Sanskrit of which the English rendering is as follows :—

"There was in the family of the Jagat Setts, a scion, named Sumer Chand, son of Mahtab Rao, who was famous throughout the world and possessed wealth surpassing that of Kuvera (the god of riches). His son Huruck Chand was known for his great piety and excellence. He became the disciple of Ramana Das, an ascetic of the Vaishnava sect, who had come from the Vindhya-chal and whose virtues shone resplendent like the moon. He consecrated this temple to the god Hari as a token of his gratitude for his preceptor in the year 1857, Samvat (corresponding to 1801 A.D.). May increased prayers be offered to the god at this place. Dated Monday, the fifth after the full moon in the month of Magh of the Samvat year 1857.

The Council Hall and the Imperial Bank (Shahnashin, the seat of the Emperor), built in or about the year 1720 A.D., a mound of earth overgrown with vegetation containing a reservoir and fountain with sides of granite marble, is situated west of the Hindu temple. It was there that Lord Clive had a conference with the leading men of the time to dethrone Suraj-ud-daula. And there in the presence of Clive, Watts and Scrafton, Omichand was undeceived and told that the "red paper" was a "trick." The fabulous wealth of the Sett family was plundered by the Mahrattas under Bhaskar Pundit at the time of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan. In 1763 the Setts were taken to Monghyr and there flung into the river from the bastions of the fortress.

The old family dwelling house is in ruins and is supposed to have been the oldest building in the city. At the present house the visitors were shown a large and interesting collection of documents, jewels, and coins. By "Jagat Setts" is meant the "Bankers of the World."

The Firman of the Emperor Mahaumad Nasiruddin Abul Fath Badshah-i-Gazi, conferring the title of "Jagat Sett" as an hereditary distinction on Fatteh Chand, in the fourth year of his reign is as follows:—

Mahammad
 Jahan Shah Bahadur Badshah-i-
 Gazi, son of Saheb Qiran II. Abul
 Fath Nasiruddin, son of Shah Alam
 son of Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan
 son of Jahangir, son of Akbar, son of
 Humayan, son of Babar, son of Omar
 Shaik Shah, son of Sultan Abul Syed
 Shah, son of Sultan Mohammed
 Shah, son of Miran Shah, son of
 Amir Timur Saheb Qiran.
 1133 Higiri

During this victorious time and propitious moment, this imperial order to be obeyed by all the world and appearing like the rays of the Sun is hereby proclaimed and notified as follows:—

"That Seth Futteh Chand, son of Seth Manik Chand deceased is honoured with the present of the title of "Jagat Seth" and with the bestowal of a robe of honour, pearl necklace and small ear-rings and the command of five thousand horses and with caparisoned elephants as a mark of our imperial favour, and becomes thus dignified and exalted."

"It is therefore enjoined upon all Governors, officers, and Jagirdars present and future, in our Empire, that the aforementioned Seth be henceforth styled and addressed 'Jagat Seth,' and this order is to be strictly obeyed and considered urgent. Dated, 12th Rajab, in the fourth year of our glorious reign."

On the other side is the seal of the Prime Minister followed by the endorsements of subordinate officials.

The Killah Nizamut commands a charming landscape—fort, palace, Imambara and Madina with other buildings being within its confines. The Madina consists of the central dome only of Suraj-ud-daula's former famous Imambara—burnt down during a display of fireworks. An enormous gun, "the Bachawali tope," made between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, is a conspicuous object in the open space fronting the palace. The Imambara is superb, its chandeliers stand unrivalled in the East. At two of the corners are Burags, or "Bright Ones," being representations



H. H. THE NAWAB OF MUHAMMADABAD AND HIS
 GUESTS.
(Photograph by Messrs. Rivers and Shepherd.)

of the animal with a human face and a peacock's tail on which the Prophet ascended to heaven. Sabres, shields, lances, banners, daggers and feathers decorate the structure. At the time of the visit preparations for the approaching Mohurram were well advanced and the visitors were able to form some conception of the magnificent spectacular ceremonies in which the faithful were about to indulge. A clock tower, the "Big Ben of Murshidabad," graces the Palace grounds.

The Palace of the Nawab Bahadur recalls Government House at Calcutta. It is in the Italian style of architecture and Colonel Duncan McLeod of the Bengal Engineers was the architect. The foundation-stone was laid in 1829, in the presence of the Agent to the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, by His Highness the Nawab Humayun Jah, and completed in 1837 during the administration of Lord Auckland. It is crowned by a dome and consists of three storeys. On the ground floor are located the toshakhana, the armoury, the offices and the record rooms. On the first are the Durbar, or throne room, the drawing-room, the banqueting-hall, the billiard rooms, chambers and boudoir. The second (or topmost) storey contains the ball-room, library, sleeping apartments, etc. As may be imagined, the palace is magnificently furnished and to thoroughly examine its wealth of treasures, its jewels, pictures, books, china-ware and arms would take days. The library is open to the public. Its main feature is its collection of copies of the Koran, some of which are of priceless value. Among the documents of interest are the Treaty of 1763, bearing the signatures of Mir Kasim, Vansittart and Warren Hastings; and those of 1765 and 1770 with the autographs of Najum-ud-daula and the members of the Council at Calcutta. The signatures of Clive, Carnac and Sykes appear on the Agreement of 1765. There may also be seen letters from Lord William Bentinck, Lord Amherst, Lord Auckland, King William IV, and Queen Victoria.

Many of the most interesting objects belonging to the Armoury have been lent for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. The numerous state jewels deposited in the toshkhana are, many of them, of very great value and are further enriched by the historic associations of the past. Some of them may be recognised in the portraits of the Nizams in the "Family Gallery." On this occasion the jewels were specially placed on view for the inspection of the visitors, but unfortunately there was no time left in which to admire them. By way of Suraj-ud-Daula's Bazar, the Murshidabad railway station was reached. Of this bazar it is said that it occupies the site of a large pit the repository of unwholesome matter, and that by Suraj-ud-daula's command the pit was filled up and converted into a bazar or marketplace in a single night.

Afternoon tea was served in the train on the downward journey.

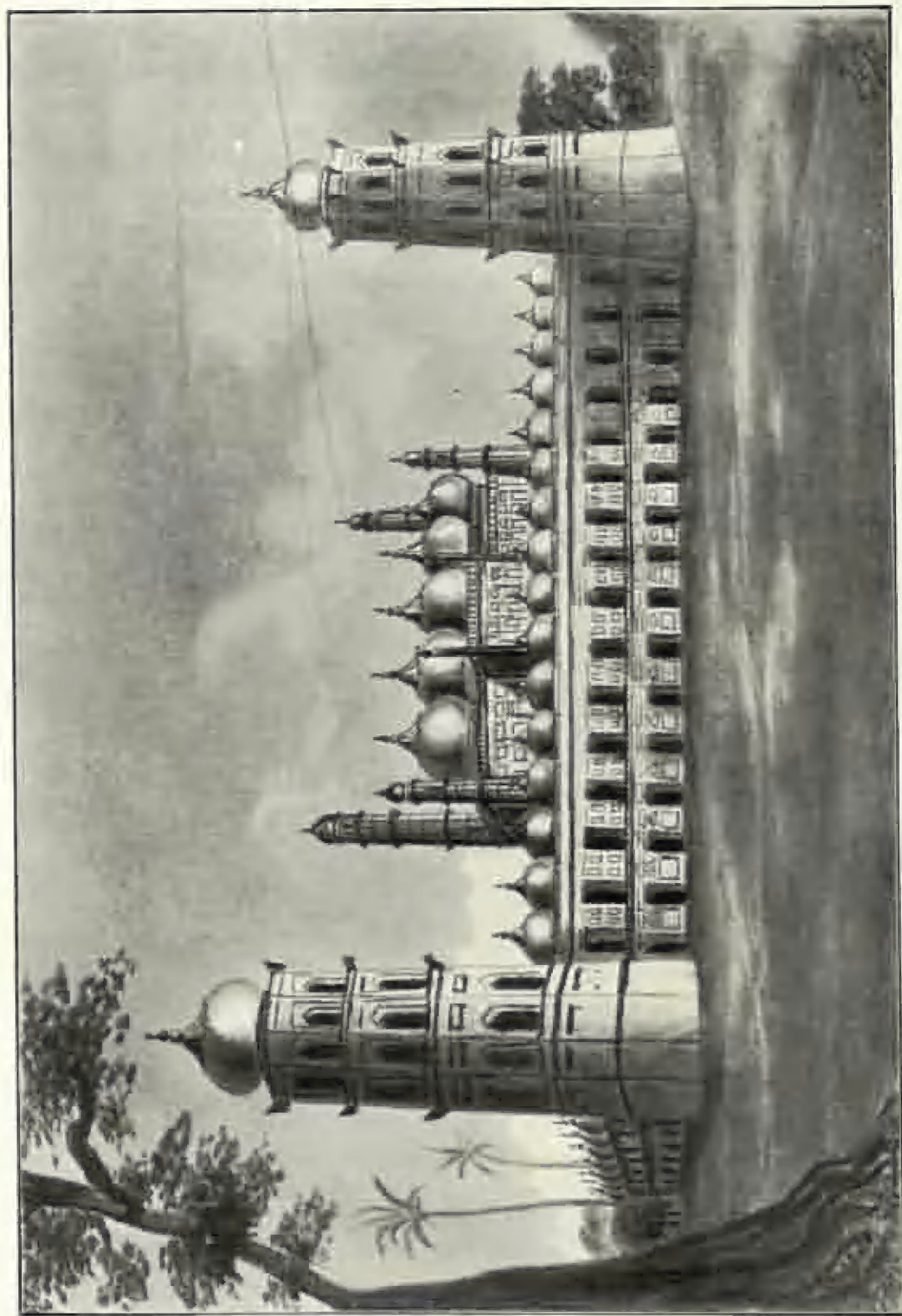
It is to be regretted that time did not permit of a visit to other places of interest across the river visible from the palace grounds. Among them Shuja Khan's tomb and Muradbagh, Clive's residence after Plassey, where Vansittart removed Mir Jaffar from his position of Subadar of Bengal. After Plassey, too, it was from the Mansurganj Palace that Suraj-ud-daula fled and Mir Jaffar was placed on the throne by Clive. It used to be surrounded by an artificial canal still known as the Heera Jhil or "Lake of Diamonds." Here lay the famous treasure vaults entered by Clive and his officers referred to in the familiar magnificent passage in his statement to the Chairman of a Committee of the House of Commons:—

"Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment, I stand astonished at my own moderation."

But with the exception of a few broken walls and foundations the Bhagirati has washed everything away.

The father of the present Nawab was Ali Kadar Bahadur, who for many years previous to his death bore the burden of ill-health with touching nobility. "He was," writes Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, "seventh from Mir Jaffar, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, ninth from Syud Hussan Najafi, chief of Najaf in Arabia; twenty-eighth from Ahmed, entitled Nasiruddin Alla, Ruler of Yemen (315 A.H.); thirty-fifth from Imam Hussan; thirty-sixth from Ali, the Amir-ul-Momin and Fatema, the Prophet's daughter; thirty-seventh from Mahomed, the Prophet of Arabia; thirty-ninth from Abdol Mottaleb, head of the Koresh Tribe and chief of Mecca; sixty-third from Ismail and sixty-fourth from Abraham of the Old Testament of whom in verse 6 Chapter XVII. of the book of Genesis it is said "and Kings shall come out of thee." Thence back, through Terah, Shem, Noah, Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch, and Seth to "the grand old gardener and his wife" is a matter of easy computation.

At the individual invitation of H. H. the Nawab Bahadur Amir-ul-Omrah, the guests were entertained at a sumptuous lunch in the great banqueting hall of the palace: prior to which each member of the party had been personally introduced to His Highness. His Highness' brother, the Prince Nazir-Ali-Mirza, his uncles, the Princes Wallah-Kadir and Asmah-Kadir, and other members of the family also honoured the company with their presence. The State Band enlivened the proceedings. After lunch, the Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini, in a speech admirably suited to the occasion, returned thanks to His Highness for his princely hospitality. He



THE KUMBES MULLAH, MURREDDAH, BEFORE ITS RUIN.
(From Mr. S. Day's sketch kindly supplied by H. H. the Nimrod.)

referred to the period over forty years ago, when, at the beginning of his service, he had been stationed at Murshidabad, and said he had been privileged to enjoy the lavish hospitality of its Nawab for three generations. The references to the Nawab were received with acclamation, and His Highness, having replied to the toast, three very cordial cheers were given for him.

The speech of the Nawab Bahadur was as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is impossible for me to express in words the great pleasure your visit to the Palace has afforded me. You constitute a society, the objects of which are deserving of all praise and deserve the sympathy of all. No one can but admire the trouble, discomfort and inconvenience you put yourselves to by undertaking excursions like these. The cause of history, and more directly, the cause of the conservation of ancient monuments will be well served by your endeavours, for by these you attempt to find out not only what deserves commemoration, but in a way bring to the notice of the authorities their responsibilities in this direction. Who knows how many monuments of historical value would not have been saved from ruin and oblivion if your society had been started a century earlier? You are therefore not a day too early. The country which is rich in historic memories will be grateful for what you have done in the past, and what you propose to do in the future. Already the first fruits of your labours are visible in the attention that is being given to certain monuments. Most of you have marked the improvement that has been effected in the cemeteries of Calcutta, and there can be little doubt that it is owing to your exertions in the matter that the neglect of years is beginning to be remedied.

Speaking of the old city of Murshidabad, I think I can reasonably say that as the place where the British Empire in the East started into being it deserves the respect and attention of all persons, much more of those who have the honor of being members of a society like yours. You have before this read of its past and you have to-day seen of its present, and I am afraid you have come to the conclusion that the cradle of British rule in the East deserves more attention and more scrutiny than you have been able to spare and bestow by a few hours' sojourn among its ruins.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the history and the traditions of the past have not a value for every observer. To the historian and the lover of antiquity, the mouldering heaps of the foundation walls of the Sangidalan and Emtarmahal, the silted bed of the Lake of Pearls and remains of the channel of the Lake of Diamonds are of more absorbing interest than the triumphs of modern architectural and engineering skill. To the curious students of history the signatures of Clive and Warren Hastings, of Vansittart and Watts, have more charm than heaps of modern manuscripts. Yet they are less than

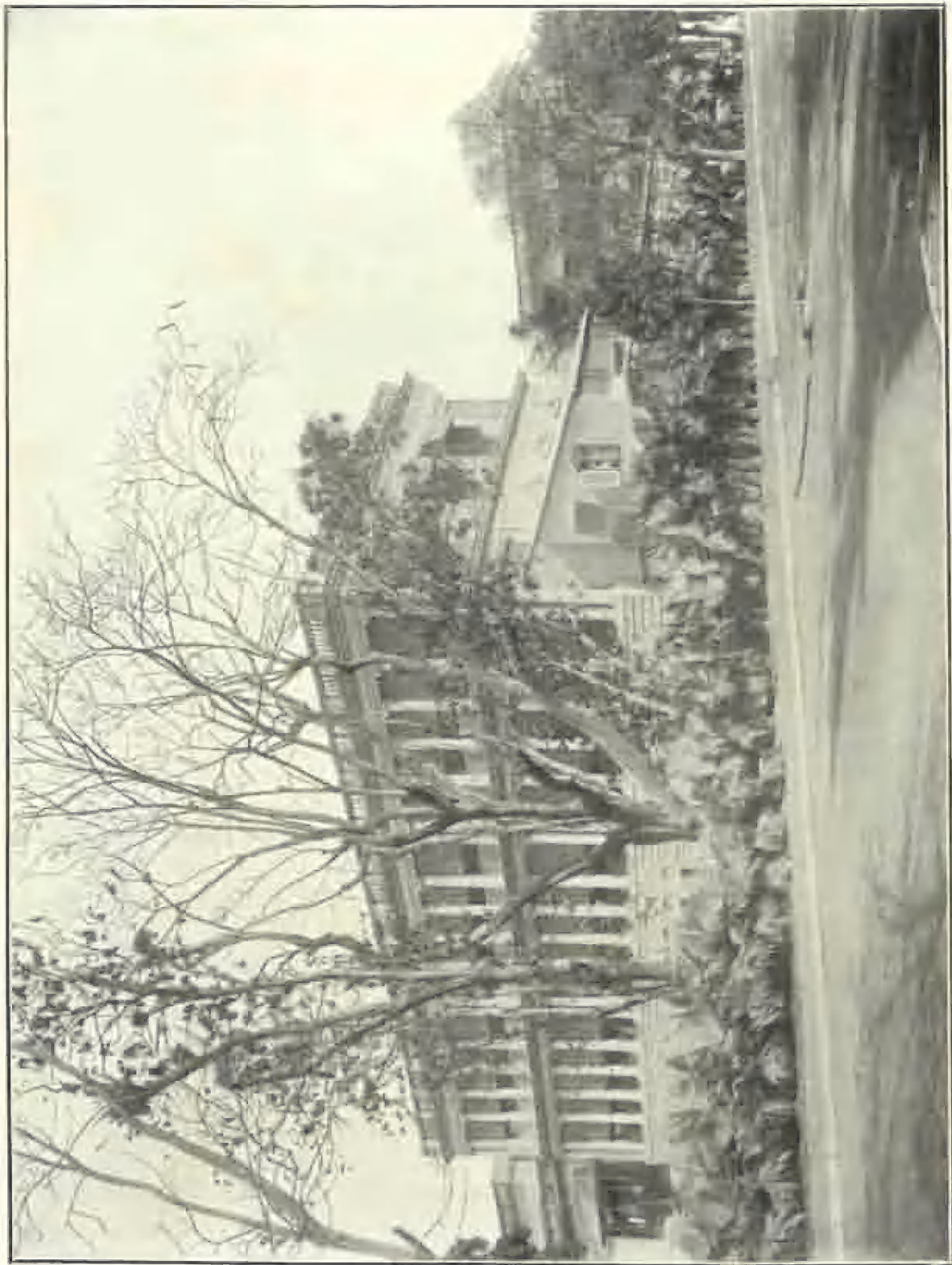
two hundred years old. We cannot claim for any relic or monument in Murshidabad that antiquity which perhaps gives similar objects their value elsewhere. There are few interested in the History of British rule in India who would not desire to visit the exact place where Clive representing the Dewan Company and sitting on the same Musnad with Najmudawla as Nazim performed the celebrated Punneah at Moti Jheel. The site of the Palace in which Clive after his entry into the city lived, and which has been described as big enough to accommodate three European monarchs, strikes one in its present deplorable condition of its faded importance. In your sojourn this morning you have trodden on historic ground. You have seen the grave where repose the remains of the greatest ally of Great Britain—for that is the verdict which history has passed upon my great predecessor, Mir Jaffar. His successors now silenced in death repose by his side. His direct descendant—only seventh from him—my late lamented and revered father is among them. The great Mani Begum—better known as the Mother-O'-Company—lies there buried in her secluded grave. What a graveyard of buried greatness you have visited this morning! You will have observed that although the sunlight of former days is over and its glory vanished, there is I thank God a faint crescent still visible through the unsurpassed and unparalleled generosity of the British Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no doubt by your visit the historical interest of the city will be revived and that the ravages of time responsible for the ruins around you will be checked as best they can and that the memories of the past will be preserved in future.

Lastly I must return my thanks to you all for the kindness with which you have accepted my invitation and for the very flattering words in which my valued friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rampini, has spoken of what little I did to facilitate your visit to the several places and objects of interest in Murshidabad. I wish your association all success and prosperity and shall always watch its work with the greatest interest. In conclusion I also thank you for the honour you have done me by electing me a patron of your society.

W. C.





THE OLD BUNKER'S PALACE, NOS. 5, RUSSELL STREET.
(Photo kindly supplied by Mrs. Plafin.)

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



OME thirty-five years ago Mr. E. Lethbridge contributed to the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. LIV.) a most important article on the mofussil Records of Bengal. By the kindness of the Proprietor of that *Review*, Mr. C. J. A. Pritchard, I am permitted to make liberal extracts from this rich mine of historical information.

CHITTAGONG.—"We learn that at Chittagong original documents are still surviving which date from the time of Clive's first administration, A.D. 1756—only three years after Plassey. Such a series as this of Chittagong, extending over considerably more than a century, must obviously contain an immense amount of interesting information; but we can only give a few samples, almost at haphazard. In the year 1771, the year preceding the advent of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal, we get a voluminous letter of twenty-one foolscap pages from the Commissioner to the Commissioners of Revenue on the revenues of the division. In 1774, when our histories are mainly concerned with the affairs of Cheyt Singh of Benares and with the squabbles of the newly-appointed Governor-General and his Council at Calcutta, we get an interesting letter from Warren Hastings to the 'Chief of Chandernagore' on the subject of slavery. In 1777 there is one of even greater importance—when we remember that the history of the Arakan frontier and the depopulation of the Sunderbuns is the *opprobrium historicum* of Bengal, and that this letter can hardly be found in duplicate—from Captain Eilerker to the Chief of Chittagong about certain invasions of the Mughla. Later in the same year, Warren Hastings writes to the same official for information about Burmah; early in 1790, we find a guard ordered for Moheskally 'on account of the Burmese;' and again in April 1791, there is a letter from the Board to the Collector of Chittagong regarding the disturbances by Burmese in the south of the district. In 1789 there is an important petition from the zemindars of Sandwipa; in 1790 a memorial from the zemindars and talukdars of Chittagong; and later in the same year, an important series of petitions, extending over twenty-five pages of foolscap and containing a large amount of interesting information, relative to the malpractices of the Diwán. Letters about the French in Chittagong; bills for 'dieting people sent by the King of Ava', and documents about police, embankments, waste lands, *hâuts*, 'cases of

alluviation and decrease in lands,' salt, cotton, and indeed every possible detail connected with revenue, commerce, agriculture, and the administration generally—are to be found in this treasure-house of antiquities, only awaiting an intelligent examination and selection."

HUGHLI.—"Most of the official documents of the Danish Settlement of Chinsurah and of the Danish settlement of Frederiksnagar or Serampur, were deposited at Hughli at the time when those territories passed respectively under the British Rule. The Dutch have always been conspicuous, even amongst European nations, for the scientific care bestowed on their archives; and the records of the Netherlands India preserved at Chinsurah were worthy of that reputation. We regret, however, to find (from a paper read before the Asiatic Society and published in its *Proceedings* in April 1871) that most of those which possessed any historical and scientific value were, in 1853, handed over bodily, and without even any proposal to retain copies of them in this country, by the Government of India to the Government of the Netherlands India for transmission to the Hague. The extraordinary historical interest of these documents may be seen from the list, which is printed *in extenso* in the *Proceedings*. They contained a complete series of the *Minutes* of the Governors of Chinsurah from 1674; which as Mr. Torrens (who was Judge of Hughli at the time of transfer) stated 'most undoubtedly, I think, have been of some very considerable historical importance.' The other sets of documents were numbered from 1 to 66; we will quote a few of the numbers.

"No. 3 contained copies of 'grants respecting lands at Pipley and Balasore, in 1676.'

"No. 4 contained documents respecting the 'acquisition of lands at Baranagore' by the Dutch in 1680.

"No. 6 contained two *Perwanas* under the seal of Vizier Sadoolah Khan respecting a house at Patna.

"No. 8 was a packet containing documents respecting the transfer of some premises at Dacca from the French authorities to the Dutch in 1674. This is almost certainly the earliest mention on record of the French being settled in Bengal; the India House Records calendared by Mr. Bruce in the *Annals of the East India Company* only mention the arrival of the first French Fleet under Admiral De La Haye in the Bay of Bengal in 1673; Stewart in his *History of Bengal* says that the French settled here about 1676; and yet in these documents we find them possessing premises at Dacca and even disposing of those premises as early as 1674.

"No. 12 was a packet containing copies of five *firmans* permitting the Dutch to trade in the provinces of Oudh, Allahabad, and Agra.

"No. 42 contained twenty-one volumes of journals and minutes of the Dutch Administration from 1773 to 1805. These would in all probability furnish materials for a finely complete history of Netherlands India for that period; and would admirably illustrate the history of the British power during the same time.

"No. 57 was a book containing a note of Warren Hastings on the capture of the Fort and Town of Chinsurah in 1781.

"The Danish records of Serampur date from 1745. Both these and the surviving relics of the Dutch papers was described as 'covered with the dust of years,' 'worm-eaten and decaying,' 'many in a state of inseparable cohesion.'"

MURSHIDABAD.—"The mutilation of the ancient and extremely valuable archives of Murshidabad is, we believe, a matter of history. Of the whole mass of the old English records of this collectorate, *three* volumes alone now survive! The first of these volumes contains the minutes of the Provincial Court at Murshidabad for the latter half of the year 1778; the second volume contains the minutes of the Provincial Council for the first half of the year 1780, the third volume contains the correspondence of the collectorate during the years 1791 to 1795. Between these records and those of recent years there is, alas! an historical blank—*hiatus valde deflendus*, which can now never be filled up."

BHAGALPUR.—"Probably few districts surpass in the scientific value of their archives; for here we find not only the usual series, but also such valuable monographs as Sutherland's *Reports on the Hill Tribes*, not to mention numerous letters of Cleveland, the pioneer of civilisation amongst the aborigines of the hill-tracts. If those enquiries into the condition and history of the non-Aryan tribes of Bengal, so well commenced by Hodgson and Hunter and a few others, are even to be made thorough and exhaustive, it must also necessarily be by the aid of these most important documents; which (the statement will perhaps appear incredible to many of our readers) are sharing a common fate with the most trivial bills and accounts of a mofussil office! With material such as these at his command, a writer possessing a lively imagination and a facile pen might perform for the Santals and the other wild tribes of Western Bengal a service similar to that which Sir Walter Scott did so well for the Highlanders of Scotland; meanwhile, these materials are consigned—*horresco referens*—to the tender mercy of the climate and the ants."

TIPPERAH.—"In the collectorate of Tipperah is to be found a highly valuable series of papers, of the years 1789-1792; wherein is buried an immense amount of information about the interesting states of Hill Tipperah. Turning to the Division of Rajshahi, we find a great number of documents

of a similar nature in the Rangpur Collectorate, illustrating in the same way the relations of Government with Bhutan, Kuch Behar and Assam. These records date from 1781, and those of the Dinajpur Collectorate from 1790. In Rajshahi itself we get papers dating from July, 1782, some of these are kept in almirahs, others carelessly bound together in *bustaks*; and, as usual, most of the volumes have been damaged either by damp or by white ants."

MIDNAPUR.—"These date from 1764; they throw light upon the commercial proceedings of the East India Company; and, as usual, they are most full and explicit upon almost every matter of interest and importance concerning the district."

PURNEAH.—"The papers of the old Purneah Council are believed to be at Allahabad; but in the Collectorate at Purneah are a large number of documents of the highest interest, dating from 1786. Some of the earliest of these throw light on the state of Nepal, the Morung, the frontier tribes and trade between them and Purneah at this period—a period far removed from the present day in point of civilisation in this part of Bengal. There are papers fully illustrating the famine of 1791; grants of lands to Europeans and permission to set up factories; measures undertaken to put down excessive usury and exactions on the part of the zemindars. There is, moreover, a most important account of the state of the various zemindars of the district in the year 1788."

THE writer of the article, from which we have made these most instructive quotations, comments on the haphazard way in which such a book as Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* comes into existence. "Four years ago," writes Sir William, "in taking over charge of the district Treasury, I was struck with the appearance of an ancient press, which from the state of its padlocks seem not to have been opened for many years, and with whose contents none of the native officials was acquainted. On being broken open it was found to contain the early records of the district from within a year of the time that it passed under British Rule. The volumes presented every appearance of age and decay; their yellow stained margins were deeply eaten into by insects, their outer pages crumbled to pieces under the most tender handling, and of some, the sole palpable remains were chips of paper mingled with the granular dust that white-ants leave behind." Commenting on this passage, Mr. Lethbridge writes: "Mr. Macaulay's researches prove that Dr. Hunter was mistaken in this assertion (*i.e.*, as to the date of the earliest document at Birbhum); as the former gentleman has actually 'discovered' two earlier magistrates than any of those whose records are noticed in the *Annals*. It would be amusing were the subject less serious, to observe in what a haphazard way the record discoveries both

of Dr. Hunter and Mr. Macaulay were made: documents of the most inestimable value from the scientific point of view, are turned up because Dr. Hunter is struck with the appearance of a particularly rusty old box, and because Mr. Buckland some years afterwards (in the same office!) observes some papers which appear to be particularly tattered and neglected."

THE moral to which these extracts from Mr. Lethbridge's article point is fairly obvious. Some years ago, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids wrote of some words in regard to Asiatic research which go to the root of the present matter:—

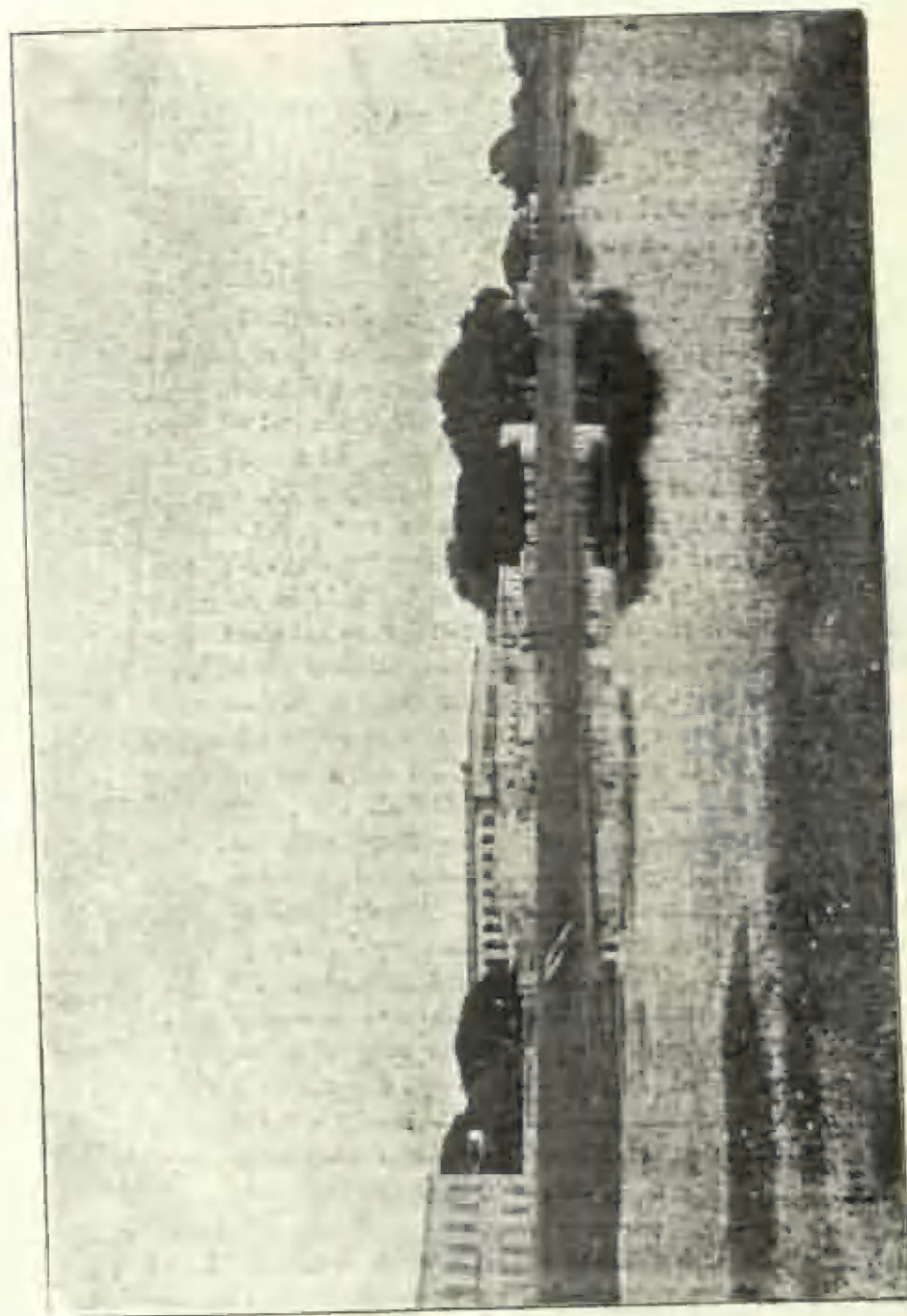
"In India much of the inherited material is still buried in MS. and even so much as is accessible in printed texts has been by no means thoroughly exploited. Scarcely anything also has yet been done for the excavation of historical sites. We might do well to recollect, when we read these complaints of the absence of materials, that the remedy lies, to a very large extent, in our own hands. We might so easily have more. We do not even utilise the materials we have. To speak out quite plainly, it is not so much the historical data that are lacking as the men. There are plenty of men able and willing to do the work. But it is an accepted tradition in England that all higher education may be safely left to muddle along as best it can, without system, under the not always very wise restrictions of private beneficence. One consequence is that the funds have to be administered in accord with the wish of benefactors in mediæval times, the old studies, theology, classics, and mathematics have a superabundance of endowment. The new studies have to struggle on under great poverty and difficulty. There is no chair of Assyriology for instance in England. And whereas in Paris and Berlin, in S. Petersburg and Vienna, there are great seminaries of oriental learning, we see in London the amazing absurdity of unpaid professors obliged to devote to the earning and otherwise of their living the time they ought to give to teaching and research. And throughout England the state of things is nearly as bad. In all England, for instance, there are two chairs of Sanscrit. In Germany the Government provide more than twenty—just as if Germany's interests in India were more than ten times as great as ours."

IT will be always worth while to take a note, when occasion occurs, of the date of the construction of any Calcutta thoroughfare. From No. XCL. of the *Calcutta Review* I excerpt: "Up to this time access to the southern and western suburbs of Alipore, Kidderpore, and Garden Reach, was over the two very

ungainly and unsafe bridges, then commonly known as Zeerat's and Surman's bridges. But in 1810, Government resolved to replace these by two more creditable productions of the Public Works Department, though they were still to be wooden structures; and in order to extend the contemplated improvements in this region, they applied to the Military Orphan Society to allow a road to be made across their property, parallel to the nullah, connecting these new bridges on the southern bank: for up to this time the grounds of Kidderpore House had sloped down to the water's edge. This new road was constructed in 1812; and it was then proposed by one of the Managers to let out for native tenements and a bazaar the space lying between the road and the nullah, which could be no longer used by the inmates of Kidderpore House. Out of this arose the Kidderpore Bazaar." The writer of the article, from which this quotation is made, records in a footnote that the right of the inmates to the land skirting Tolly's Nullah, was in March 1813, "very warmly but unsuccessfully contested by the then Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs W. Thackeray," who was no other than the father of the brilliant author of *Vanity Fair*.

ANOTHER small but interesting fact I have learned from the Records at St. John's Church. The row of godowns, which in the memory of most of us formed a boundary on the south to the Church compound and skirted Hastings Street, were at one time the property of Sir Robert Chambers. The house in the corner formed by the junction of Hastings Street and Church Street was at one time the residence of Mrs. Fay, and before her day it was the Old Post Office and has thus given its name to Old Post Office Street.

THE history of the building of the barracks at Berhampur is still very obscure. Lieutenant-Colonel Tull Walsh in his *History of Murshidabad* (p. 45) writes: "Berhampur, originally a piece of waste land to the south of Cossimbazar and Khagra, was selected as the site for a cantonment in October 1757, after the decisive victory of Clive's troops at Plassey. The *Sanad* given by Mir Jaffer granted to the Company 133 acres of land; but the Directors in England declined, at that time, to sanction the works, and later on, sanction being given, the barracks were commenced in 1765 and completed in two years." Mr. S. C. Hill, in writing of the Company's tank at Fort Orleans, Chandernagore, writes: "This use of tanks for defensive purposes was an excellent one, as they also provided a good supply of drinking water. A little later Clive protected his great barracks at Berhampur with a line of large tanks along the landward side." (*Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 19.) I have not as yet consulted the original documents, but I have done the next best thing and looked through the



THE BARBARA, HICKORY,
(Photograph by the Hon. W. A. H. H. H. H.)

Press Lists, and I am now confident that Mr. Hill, for once, has made a mistake. On the 24th January 1770 we find entered estimates for a palisade round the cantonments at Berhampur and for a ditch to surround them. On the Consultations of 6th March of the same year there is an indent for timber and planks and this indent would lead one to suppose that the work had not gone far. On the 14th March, the Committee of Works at Berhampur wrote regarding the rate for brickwork round the cantonments. On the date 1st March 1772, we come across an estimate by Mr. Henry Watson for barracks and an hospital at Berhampur, and on 18th April a draft of a letter to the Chief and Council at Cossimbazar directing that no new foundation whatever be laid at Berhampur. On the Consultations of 21st August 1772, occur (1) a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, Chief Engineer, submitting an estimate of the expense of completing the building of the Berhampur Cantonments, (2) letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell submitting proposal for making a ditch and stockaded palisade round the Berhampur Cantonment instead of a brickwall, (3) draft of a letter to the Committee of Circuit "enquiring what further buildings are in their opinion indispensably necessary for the accommodation of the Brigade at Berhampur and requesting that steps may be taken to supply the required materials." On the Consultations of 10th September there is the reply of the Committee of Circuit, and a letter requiring Campbell to submit one set of plans and elevations, etc., of the intended buildings at Berhampur to the Secretary to the Board and another to the Chief of Cossimbazar. On the 22nd March 1773, Lieutenant George Russell, Superintendent of the Works at Berhampur, reports to the Chief and Council of Cossimbazar the expense of completing the building of the cantonments. The dates of these documents would at least show that the ascription of the building of the Berhampur Barracks to Clive is no longer to be entertained.

By the kindness of our patron, H.H. the Nawab of Murshidabad, I have before me a copy of Mir Kasim's account of Suraj-ud-daula's mad career on the Musnud. His Highness has filled our cup of gratitude till it overflows by a generous offer to permit the invaluable records of his family to be copied, edited, and published. This, of course, will be a work that cannot be achieved within a few months, and although our friend the Dewan Sahib has given me permission to produce Mir Kasim's letter in this issue of our Journal, both the Persian scholar, who has kindly consented to collaborate with me, and the Dewan himself agree with me in thinking that a piece-meal publication of the more interesting documents would not be in the interest of the publication of the series as a whole. Neither the late Dr. Wilson nor Mr. S. C. Hill had the opportunity of studying the Murshidabad

records, and although Mr. H. Beveridge occasionally quotes from them, I do not think that he was acquainted with more than a few extracts sent to him by the Palace Librarian. Research in this direction will cover a field of virgin soil. It is impossible to anticipate the result of the work that lies before us, but if indeed, as is most improbable, we do not add to our knowledge of historical facts, these documents must surely show us how the facts presented themselves to the eyes of the Court at Murshidabad. It is always a good thing to try and read history through some one else's eyes.

NO one was "so down on" Suraj-ud-daula as the man who staged the tragedy of Patna. If Lord Macaulay had made as much of the Patna Massacre as he made of the Black Hole and transferred his climax from Plassey to Udwa Nalla, the average Englishman would have had a better chance of understanding the history of the English in India than he has at present. The Plassey perspective is absolutely delusive. If Watts had not succeeded in passing himself off as a lady of Mir Jaffer's seraglio and securing admission to that old Jafferganj Palace we so recently visited, it is most probable that Clive's forces at Plassey, hopelessly outflanked as they were, would have been either cut to pieces or driven into the river. Watts' palanquin and the nimble brain of the diplomatist inside were as "decisive" as that disobedience of Kilpatrick to Clive's orders which forced the day of June 23rd. To stake Clive's reputation on Plassey is to belittle a great man. And as Plassey must yield in historical importance to Udwa Nalla and Buxar, so the tragedy of the Black Hole must yield in dramatic importance to that of Patna. The Black Hole was the result of sheer thoughtlessness, and readers of Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence* (Vol. II., p. 175) will remember how the thoughtlessness of a young British Officer led to a very similar tragedy at Ujainwalla exactly one hundred and one years later. But the Patna business, with its renegade European butcher, was an event far more adequate to Macaulay's description of the Black Hole:—"Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderers, approaches the horrors which were recounted." The photographs of the old graveyard at Patna with which two of our members, Mr. P. A. Selfe and A. de Cosson, have provided us this issue, show the lofty monument erected to the memory of Mir Casim's victims.

AN account of our expeditions to Murshidabad, Cossimbazar and Plassey appears elsewhere in the present issue, but I cannot let pass by this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to our friends at Murshidabad for all the pains they took to show us all that could possibly be seen at these places



OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT PATNA.
(Photo by P. A. Selig, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photo by P. A. Selig, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by P. A. Selig, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by A. de Cazan, Esq.)

within the time at our disposal and for so thoughtfully providing for our comforts. The idea of our Expeditions was suggested to us by the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta at the Society's Inaugural Meeting, but I do not think that he or any one else at that time could have dreamed that it would be possible for the Society to organise Expeditions to places so far distant from Calcutta as are Berhampur and Murshidabad, and yet to show the pilgrims so much within less than twenty-four hours. The very success of our Expeditions, of course, affords occasion for criticism. Because the meals provided have been ample, the Expeditions have been hit off as "picnics" by the people who would probably be the loudest in complaint if the tiffin-baskets had gone astray. It is most unlikely that any one who has not himself worked out the details of such an Expedition as our Murshidabad Expedition involved, could in the least appreciate the amount of previous preparation required to enable our party to see in comfort all that they did see. At Plassey our good friends, Fazal Rubbee Khan Bahadur and Babu P. C. Majumdar, had before our arrival gone over the whole field and carefully taken the time of the elephants in order that our visit should not be either over hurried or too long drawn out. At Murshidabad again our route was most carefully gone over and timed out beforehand, and where it was decided that the pilgrims would have no time to halt, the places of historical interest were denoted by signboards. If it had not been for the princely hospitality of His Highness the Nawab, the toil bestowed on our behalf by the Dewan Sahib, His Highness' Private Secretary, and—I may add His Highness' Master of Horse—the Society would have had to expend not twenty but more like sixty hours in seeing all that they saw, and the cost of the tickets would have been nearer sixty than sixteen rupees. If we did not see all that we might have seen the failure must be attributed to the fact that we succumbed to a very natural temptation to stay too long at Jafferganj. The time spent in taking photographs precluded us from seeing much that we most wanted to see at the Palace, but still this could hardly be helped. The wonder is that we saw all that we did see in so short a time, for the business of taking well nigh seventy ladies and gentlemen, there and back, a distance of 246 miles, carrying them over nearly fifteen miles of historical sites, seeing that they were provided with *gharris*, elephants, horses, etc., and that they would have no complaint to make as to the commissariat, was not quite so simple a matter as some may believe. The success of our Expeditions has been due to a kind of Freemasonry practised by all concerned in their management.

NOT the least charm of our Expeditions has been the kindly reception given to us by our native hosts. We have made the acquaintance of lineal

descendants of Mir Jaffer, Mir Miran, Mahomed Reza Khan, Kantu Babu, Nanda Kumar, and the Jagat Seths. At a time when Bengal was supposed to be restless, our Society has met with a warm welcome wherever it placed its feet.

IT is but rarely that a mistake can be detected in Dr. Busteed's careful work, but I find that he has made a serious error in regard to the personality of Alexander Kynynmound Elliot. The Doctor writes with reference to the Nanda Kumar trial "after the jury had been sworn, an objection was made by Farrer, at the instigation of his client, to the gentleman who it was proposed should interpret during the trial as being connected with persons whom the prisoner considered as his enemies." This was Mr. Alexander Elliot, "eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindustani languages," an intimate friend both of the Governor-General and of the Chief Justice, and, strange to say, son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who took so leading a part in the House of Commons on the motion for the impeachment of Impey thirteen years afterwards." In a footnote the Doctor adds: "Young Elliot died early in India (1778). Hastings was much attached to him, and wrote some verses to his memory in imitation of Horace. Sir Gilbert writing to his wife (February 1788) of Hastings at his impeachment says 'I never saw Hastings till to-day, and had not formed anything like a just idea of him. I never saw a more miserable-looking creature, but indeed he was so much the appearance of bad health, that I do not suppose he resembles even himself. He looks if he could not live a month. I always feel uncomfortable in the reflection of his connections with Alick, and I cannot say I was insensible to the idea of seeing him to-day.' " Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, relying very naturally on a guide so safe as Dr. Busteed, writes: "When thirteen years later it fell to the lot of the father [Lord Minto] to play so prominent a part against the son's [Alexander's] friend, he felt the position keenly," etc., etc. In the Index to Mr. Cotton's book on this showing, Alexander has the prefix of "Hon."

THE mistake is obvious when one reflects that the Sir Gilbert Elliot, who moved in the House of Commons for the impeachment of Impey, and who in 1798 was created Baron, and in 1813 Earl of Minto, was born on April 23, 1751: he could not therefore have had a son old enough to translate Persian at a trial in Calcutta in 1775. Dr. Busteed confused two Sir Gilbert Elliots, father and son, together, and thus made Alexander the son instead of the brother of the future Earl and Governor-General. My attention was drawn to this matter during the course of a search for the grave of Alexander Elliot, mentioned by Hastings in a poem which appears elsewhere in the present issue. He died, I knew, when on a mission to Madaji Bhonsla,



ARE THERE TO BE ANY RIVER EXPEDITIONS
THIS HOT WEATHER?

the Maratha chief of Berar. Mr. C. B. Bailey most kindly allowed me to look through P.W.D. lists of historical monuments, but there is no satisfactory list for the Central Provinces, and I could discover nothing in this direction. But, in the meanwhile my friend Mr. P. Dias following up the information I had been able to give him, ascertained that Alexander Elliot died at Sarangarh not far from Cuttack. This information obtained, Sir Charles Allan communicated with the local authorities, and it was speedily ascertained that the grave is at M. Saler on the Lot Nala in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. "The tomb is surrounded by an enclosure and is repaired every year by the British Government through the authorities of the Sarangarh Feudatory State."—The inscription runs as follows :

To the memory of Alexander Elliot, Esquire, who having been selected at a very early period of life for the execution of an important commission at Nagpur, died of fever at this place on the 12th of September, 1778, aged 23 years. This monument, which covers his remains, was erected in testimony of his virtues and of the loss which his State has sustained in his death, by order of (the) Governor-General of Bengal.

THE story of this inquiry, I venture to think, serves to show how much we need a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Britannicarum*. Let me quote from the Preface of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's invaluable but very far from perfect *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal* :—

"The utility and interest of such lists is admitted, and in the first-half of the present century more than one attempt was made by private enterprise to form a record of the monumental inscriptions of British India, the latest being the *Bengal Obituary* published by Holmes and Company, the Cossitolah Undertakers in 1848. As regards the churches and graveyards of Calcutta this list is full and valuable but as regards mufassil monuments and inscriptions it is unfortunately very imperfect. The compilers seem to have depended on contributions from correspondents, and these were apparently exceedingly superficial. Since then no publication of the kind has been attempted, and it has long been felt that the work of collecting the inscriptions of British India is one which might well be undertaken by Government. 'Why,' wrote a distinguished Civilian in 1892, 'why should there not be a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Britannicarum*, giving the epitaphs of the men who lived and died to build up British India? They would be better reading than the bland platitudes of Asoka.....It is time that something should be done, for not only are many inscriptions becoming illegible, but, not to speak of tablets which have been converted into curry-stones, monuments are

always being carried away by those grim wolves, the rivers of Bengal, who with privy paws daily devour apace, and nothing said.'

"This is a first edition. The lists will undoubtedly require revision as well as additions, and the Public Works Department will be very glad to receive suggestions for the improvement of the work. Even as it stands, it seems to me an impressive record. A man must be strangely constituted indeed who can read the names contained in these pages and not feel some of the emotion which finds expression in the noble obituary speech of Pericles. We, too, can say with even greater truth than the Athenian that our race has not left itself without a witness, for we too have set forth our power with mighty signs and have forced every sea and every land to give way to our daring. 'For such a state as this have these men nobly fought and died, vindicating its just title to unimpaired rights, and in the service of such a state we who remain here, should be glad to toil.'"

BURKE's *Parrage* gives April 8, 1754, as the date of Alexander Elliot's birth and October 1777 as the date of his death. The last date is clearly wrong. If the date given for Elliot's birth is correct, then he was only twenty-one at the time he interpreted at Nanda Kumar's trial and only twenty-four when he died in the execution of a mission which Hastings described as "a most critical service but likely to prove the era of a new system in the British Empire in India." After the Nanda Kumar trial, at the time of which Elliot held the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa or native exchequer, he was sent to England with report drawn up by himself and Tolfrey, the Under-Sheriff of Calcutta. In the *Life and Letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot First Earl of Minto*, we find an amusing portrait of the Persian scholar:—

"Some pencil-drawings and black shades are still extant which represent various members of the family, and were probably done at this time, for at no other can Alick and Hugh have sat for the companion portraits which hang side by side at Minto. While the extraordinary erection on Isabella's head—composed of hair, feathers, and flowers—explains certain passages in her letters of this date:—'Poor Alick's eastern eyes behold us with despair. He could not bear flowers nor feathers nor stays so to please him we have almost left off feathers'—*c'est bien complaisant*—but we can go no further. Again, 'The heads are higher than ever, with feathers *en rayons de soleil* and *le jardin anglais*—fruit, turnips, and potatoes; the gowns trimmed the same way. To give you some idea, my gown for the birthday was trimmed with grapes, acorns, and roses, so that I looked like a walking hot-house, but upon the whole it was pretty.' No wonder that Lady Barrymore, one of the first to import the new fashion from Paris, was mobbed

at public places—which, by the way, she rather liked. Lady Elliot describes Alick, on his first return from India, as remarkably 'genteel' in figure, with the air of a man of fashion, but not at all *swainish*. Everybody at home agreed that Hugh was one of the best looking maccaronis of the day." Hugh, of course, being the future Governor of Madras.

If we may accept the date, April 8, 1754, given by Burke, as correct we may say that Alexander Elliot had not arrived at the age of eighteen when in company with Sir John D'Oyley and John Dyneley; he was appointed to be an assistant at the Council at Murshidabad. I do not know when exactly the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa (Exchequer Records) was formed, but Elliot was the first to occupy it. The duties of the appointment are thus defined by Warren Hastings in a letter to Lord Mansfield, dated January 20, 1776. "This is an office of late institution. The business of the Superintendent is to receive and file all complaints and petitions referred to him by the Council, to take the evidences upon them, to trace in the minutes of the Council and other public records, whatever has a relation to them, and to state and prepare them for the Board." In recommending Elliot to the great English Judge, Hastings continues,

I hope you will not form your opinion of his abilities from the youthfulness of his appearance. If I am not partial to him, his judgment and understanding would do credit to a much more advanced age. He is peculiarly qualified to answer any inquiries which your Lordship may have occasion to make upon the subject of the enclosed sheets, as he had charge of the records of the two Superior Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, and was the first person appointed to the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa Records." Referring also to George Vansittart, Hastings goes on to say: "These gentlemen are both masters of the Persian language; and while I mention them as persons to whom I may refer for that information which I would wish your Lordship to receive as my own, I hope it will not be an improper recommendation of them to add that both have my entire confidence."

OUR next sketch of Alexander Elliot is afforded by General Clavering's evidence at the trial of J. Fowke, Nanda Kumar and Ray Rada Churn for conspiracy. Thus swore the General: "A little time after my arrival, Mr. Elliot came to me, to propose himself, to be my interpreter. I acquainted

*Orig. *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*. Vol. II. pp. 23-24.

him that I understood there was an interpreter on the establishment, who was then with the army, and I had a very good character of him, and therefore I did not chuse (*sic*) to make any disposition of it at that time, but would wait till the interpreter returned to Calcutta. Mr. Elliot understood it as explained by me, and was pleased to offer me his service till such time as my interpreter arrived. From that time I am not conscious that I received any Persian letter, or petition, that I did not put into his hands. In the meantime divisions of the Council had broken out. Mr. Elliot, I understood, had been admitted a Private Secretary to the Governor. About a month after his tendering his services, Mr. Elliot came to me and acquainted me that he understood that the interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief had been recommended by the Governor to the late Commander; but on my making some difficulty to accept an interpreter that might have been recommended by the Governor to the late Commander, Mr. Elliot opened himself further to me, and told me in a very honourable manner that I must be sensible, from his close connection with the Governor-General how unpleasant a thing it would be to him to accept of such a trust from me."

"Mr. Elliot here wishes the General would recollect whether the occasion of this conversation was not a letter from the King at Delhi."

"Mr. Elliot, however, still offered to translate such papers as might be sent to me. I accordingly did send them, I believe to all but him."

THE General then goes on to say how "about the middle of January" (1775) his palanquin was nearly upset by a crowd of petitioners—"the Molungies of the 24-Pergunnahs" and how in reading this petition on his way to the Court House he saw in it "some very great abuse of power" and reflecting "that the several petitions which I had before laid before the Council, which had been presented in the streets to me, had no effect in redressing their grievances, I had resolved to inquire myself as well as I could." The General in consequence sent for James Fowke, Hastings' arch foe, to translate the petitions. The General's evidence is absolutely inconsequential, for he assigns "the middle of January" as the date of the assault of his palanquin and yet he swore "from the 18th of November to the 20th December was the only time I sent petitions to Mr. Fowke." Observe his insinuation: "Mr. Elliot was, about the 20th December, appointed Superintendent of the Khalsa Records with the intention of receiving all petitions. This was done with an intention to prevent my employing Mr. Fowke, and I acquiesced in it: there was no office to receive and examine petitions."

In the Nanda Kumar case Elliot was called upon to act as Persian interpreter, and his work in that capacity was of considerable importance. We extract the following from the official report of the trial :—

" Mr. William Chambers,* the principal interpreter, not being yet come from Madras, and the two assistant interpreters, on account of their imperfect knowledge of English, being deemed insufficient for a trial so long as this was expected to be, Mr. Alexander Kyn. Elliot, Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, a gentleman eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindustani languages, and Mr. William Jackson, lately admitted an Attorney of the Court, who speaks the Hindustani tongue fluently, were requested by the Court to interpret.

" The Council for the prisoner desired that the evidence might be interpreted to him in the Hindustani language, as it was most generally understood by the audience, and requested that the interpreter of the Court might be employed for that purpose and objected to the interpretation of Mr. Elliot as being connected with persons who the prisoner considered as his enemies.

Chief Justice.—The principal interpreter of the Court is absent, the gentlemen of the Jury have heard the interpretation of the assistant interpreter on other occasions. Do you, Gentlemen, think we shall be able to go through this cause with the assistance of those interpreters only.

Jury.—We are sure we shall not be able.

Chief Justice.—It is a cruel insinuation against the character of Mr. Elliot. His youth, just rising into life, his family, his known abilities and honour should have protected him from it.

[Mr. Elliot desired he might decline interpreting.]

Chief Justice.—We must insist upon it that you interpret. You should be above giving way to the imputation. Your skill in the languages and your candour will show how little ground there is for it.

Mr. Farrer.—I hope Mr. Elliot does not think the objection came from me; it was suggested to me.

Chief Justice.—Who suggested it?

Mr. Farrer.—I am not authorised to name the person.

Chief Justice.—It was improper to be made, especially as the person who suggested does not authorise you to avow it.

Jury.—We all desire that Mr. Elliot, whose character and abilities we all know, would be so kind to interpret. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Jackson were sworn to interpret."

* A brother of Sir Robert Chambers and a very remarkable person of his day in Calcutta.

OF the part Elliot played in this memorable trial I will say no more in this place, for I am nursing the hope that the Society will allow me to publish on their behalf a carefully annotated edition of the official Report, which, it would seem, was drawn up by Tolfrey, the under Sheriff, and Elliot himself. Our next witness must be the Rev. G. R. Gleig, who, with characteristic inaccuracy, spells Elliot with a double.

"IT will be borne in mind that at a period, when his (Warren Hastings) difficulties had risen to their height, when not himself alone but his friends and dependents were driven from their employments and accused of crimes the least flagrant of which, if perpetrated, must have excluded them from the society of honest men. Mr. Hastings, apprehensive on various accounts that the mainspring of all this hostility lay deeper than the breasts of his colleagues at Calcutta, determined on sending to England certain trustworthy agents, who might watch over his interests. For this purpose he made choice of three gentlemen in particular, Mr. George (not "George" but "Alexander") Elliot, the son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, a young man of rare promise and singularly matured judgment; of the Honorable James Stuart, one of the sons of the Earl of Bute, whom, because he was the Governor's *protégé*, the majority had removed from the Chief Secretaryship of Bengal and of Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, to whose noble exertions and disinterested friendship I am glad that it has fallen to my lot to bear testimony. These, as has been shown in the course of this narrative, carried with them full powers to act for Mr. Hastings as if the cause had been their own, one restriction only being laid upon them, namely, that it was his good name, not his station, or pecuniary resources of which they were the appointed guardians."

OF Elliot's home-going Beveridge, in his prejudiced work, *the Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar*, gives the following account: "Nanda Kumar having been hanged, the next thing to be done was to justify the act in England. For this purpose Alexander Elliot, who had acted as interpreter during the trial, was forthwith sent home entrusted with the publication of the trial. Elliot was secretary to the *Khalsa* (the Exchequer or Revenue Office). Hastings' permission was necessary for his departure. Hastings gave it and took part in sending him—another link in the chain of evidence connecting him with Nanda Kumar's case." The report of the trial had, in fact, been drawn up by the Sheriff and Under-Sheriff of Calcutta with Elliot's assistance, from the Judges' notes (still preserved in the Bar Library) and those of a Mr. Foxcraft who had acted as assistant to Mr. Farrer. It is pertinent to Beveridge's far-going advocacy to maintain that Elliot, having been

entrusted with the publication of the report, produced a version of it designed to conceal what Mr. Beveridge was pleased to characterise "a judicial murder." It may be said of Beveridge's book, that, while it is replete with historical information which only a patient student actually in Bengal and with some lengthy experience of the country could bring together, its partisan bias is so obvious, that one is perhaps tempted to withhold from the book the esteem which it in many respects merits. Elliot was a man of established honour and reputation. Of him, albeit the confidant of both Impey and Hastings, the latter's implacable foes had written "of whose person and qualifications we had all the same sentiments. If he prefers honour to emolument, as we are thoroughly persuaded he does, a difference of opinion which went only to the amount of the salary and which was determined before his name was mentioned will not weigh in his mind against the pleasure of knowing that his character united every opinion in his favour." So wrote Francis and Monson on January 16, 1775. With Clavering Elliot always seems to have stood well. Beveridge quotes Macintosh as writing from Calcutta in December 1779 "the trial published in England is regarded on this side to be spurious and false." Of the value of any uncorroborated statement of either Francis or of his paid yet publicly disavowed agent, Macintosh, the reader who consults a footnote on pp. 96, 97 of Vol. II. of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's *Nuncumar and Impey* will be in a position to judge. The high esteem in which Elliot in his lifetime was held by Hastings' foes is quite sufficient to place his reputation far beyond dispute. If one wishes to judge of the value of Beveridge as an authority, consider these facts. In 1877 and 1878, he published in the *Calcutta Review* three articles on Warren Hastings, and in the second and third of these articles he passionately set forth Burke's view that Nanda Kumar had been judicially murdered. In 1885 Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, in taking Beveridge's articles to pieces, admitted that Beveridge "had read the trial of Nuncumar, but when he published his reviews he had obviously no professional knowledge of the English law." On p. 192 of Vol. I. Sir James seems to let Mr. Beveridge off in a most kindly way. "Upon the whole, the mistakes which I have pointed out in Mr. Beveridge's elaborate and laborious articles are, I think, sufficient to show that his criticisms are rash and often unjust; and that he did not when he wrote them possess the knowledge of judicial affairs requisite to make him a competent critic of the matter on which he wrote. Still, with the single exception of Mr. Adolphus, he is the only writer who seems to me to have tried even unsuccessfully to study the original authorities." In 1886, Beveridge published his reply to Sir J. F. Stephen—*The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, a Narrative of a Judicial Murder*. In his introduction he writes: "I

have now, thanks to the Calcutta Public Library, obtained the 20th Volume of Howell, and have been animated by Sir J. Stephen's example to study the reports of all three trials most closely. I certainly had no idea that so much could be got out of them and here I offer my thanks to Sir J. Stephen for putting me on the proper track." Where then did Mr. Justice Beveridge get his knowledge of the Trial! For if he did not study Vol. XV. of the *State Trials* until his opponent had mildly drawn his attention to that record, it has also to be remembered that it was not until 1836, when he had already found Sir Elijah Impey guilty of "judicial murder" that a native gentleman brought to Beveridge's knowledge the existence of the original report. To the dishonour of one who was in his lifetime *sans peur et sans reproche* Mr. Beveridge, with a saving clause "poor Elliot," by insinuation rather than honest assertion, has represented one of the cleanest and best of the English in Bengal as an accessory to an alleged crime.

IN regard to Alexander Elliot's return to England there are some apparent but not real contradictory statements in the *Memoir of the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot*. On p. 94 we read "in the spring of the year 1776 Alick had returned somewhat unexpectedly from India, with the reputation of being the first man there for character and abilities," but on p. 97 we read "Alick did not return to England till after his brother's (Hugo's departure) for Berlin in the spring of 1777, and early in the summer of the same year he went out to India, where he died in 1778." It is certain that Alexander was in England in the summer of 1776, for on 28th June of that year Maclean wrote out to Hastings: "Elliot has had bad health since his return. He is now better. His father at first seemed dissatisfied, but Gordass's late appointment has set all right again. I really believe chagrin at the little service he was able to do you with Lord North, who not only received him very coldly, but has been very cold to his father ever since, has had some share in his illness. The only effect this coldness has had on Sir Gilbert, or is likely to have, is that it will make him more determined." It seems clear that the family were reunited at Twickenham in September 1776. Alick writes: "I have visited the mill and the rivulet and the Thames, the spots where we first learned to love each other, and only you are wanting to make us perfectly happy." In November, after witnessing the election of his eldest son to the House of Commons, old Sir Gilbert fell ill, and under the charge of his second son, Hugh, he travelled with Lady Elliot and his daughter Isabella to Marseilles, but at Avignon, Hugh was "relieved in his melancholy duties by his brother Alick; and Hugh, on account of matters connected with his recent appointment to Berlin, returned to England, after a parting so

sad and painful, that Sir Gilbert is described as frequently recurring to it, saying with a sigh 'Poor, poor Hugh! how unhappy he was to leave us.' Sir Gilbert Elliot (the 3rd Baronet) died at Marseilles on January 11, 1777, but his body did not reach Minto for interment till the following August. On April the 1st of that year Hugh reached Berlin and in March the Dowager Lady Elliot and Isabella were once more in England. "A curious succession of accidents," writes Hugh's biographer, "caused the various members of the family to miss each other, though actually crossing the channel or approaching its shores on the same day; thus Hugh had sailed from Gravesend (for Cuxhaven) a few hours before Sir Gilbert and Lady Elliot arrived there, and they, during a passage of four hours to Calais, crossed Alick on his way to England, while the Dowager Lady Elliot and Isabella, who were travelling leisurely from Paris, were passed on the road by (the new) Sir Gilbert and his wife hurrying to join them in the French Capital."

How was it that at so distressing a time as the death of his father, Alexander Elliot could allow his widowed mother and sister to proceed on their way home unprotected by his presence, while the dear mortal remains were to travel to their resting place at Minto on a journey of unexplained length in duration? The fact is that while at Marseilles, the ever vigilant Elliot had been apprised of a new design to re-establish in India all that had been lost to the French at Wandewash. The story of this discovery must be reserved to a future issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*. There was no time to be lost, he had to report himself at head-quarters, and then to rush post haste back to Bengal. In a sad letter from his mother to Hugh we read: "That your fate and Alick's notwithstanding all your advantages, require perpetual absence, is 'a heavy sorrow. May I not say with the Duchess of Richmond in *Richard*:

"But death has snatched my husband from my arms,
And pluckt two feeble crutches from my feeble hands,
Clarence and Edward. Oh what cause have I, etc., etc."

You both live, thanks to heaven! but you are both lost to me; you, perhaps, I may still embrace, though perhaps not, but Alick, I dare say, I have parted with for ever, his picture is now before me in my snuff-box, and that is all I have of him who lightened my burdens with unwearied duty. May heaven bless and preserve him, but he is gone to a climate which I am sure will destroy him." The mother's instinct was true. One year and one month after the remains of his father had reached Minto, the "faithful Elliot," as Maclean most justly described him, perished, after a manful contest for our Empire, in the swamps of Cuttack.

BUT before passing on we must take some further account of Elliot's work in England. His father, the poet and scholar, Sir Gilbert, it must be remembered was a man of great political influence. He had at first supported the party of Pitt and Grenvilles, but afterwards attached himself to that of Lord Bute yet not without a hope of reconciling his former and present allies. He latterly became the chief adviser of George the III and directed the King's policy. In a letter to Lawrence Sullivan, dated 21st March, 1776, Hastings alludes to the powerful advocate he had secured in the person of Alexander's father. "I wish," he writes, "I had early received the advice of Sir Gilbert Elliot. I am afraid I have too often punished the majority with arms against myself by observing a contrary rule. No part of your letter has given me so much pleasure as the information of his disposition towards me. It will have prepared him to receive with great approbation the event of his son's return. I shall never forgive myself for having consented to it, if he is displeased with it; and yet I am sure that it was placing my friend Elliot in a point of view so conspicuous, that perhaps another opportunity might not have occurred in the course of his life to make his abilities equally known to the public, nor equally useful. But I will not entertain a doubt on the subject. It was a laudable measure; it will be received as such, and it will prove successful in every way. I do not despair of seeing him yet with your namesake."

EVERY student of Anglo-Indian history knows how exceedingly involved was the great Proconsul's position at this period, and how difficult it is to find one's way through the vast labyrinth of intrigue and counter-intrigue. Hastings, it must be remembered, had placed his confidence in Lord North, who had given him every encouragement. The confidence was quite misplaced as North was bringing every possible pressure to bear on the Directors to recall Hastings and appoint a Clavering in his room. On the 9th May, 1776, the Directors by a majority of one decided to recall the Governor, but on May the 18th, the General Court of Proprietors supported Hastings by a majority of 108 votes and a few weeks later the Directors by a majority of two decided to cancel their former decision. Of the meeting on May the 18th, Maclean writes: "Sir Gilbert Elliot and his sons came together to the ballot, and gave in their papers open. Sir Gilbert took this occasion of declaring his sentiments against the violence and injustice of the proceedings against you; 'there are only two places,' he said, in which it became him to discuss the matter,—the India House and the House of Commons,—and he should take the same line in both. This has given great offence to the administration. I have never known them so sore on any defeat. So great a majority has stunned them."

ON March the 27th, 1775, Hastings had written to Graham in England.

"I think it necessary to give both you and Colonel Maclean this separate notice, lest you should be at a distance from each other when the packet arrives, of a resolution which I have formed to leave this place, and return to England on the first ship of next season, if the first advices from England contain a disapprobation of the treaty of Benares, or of the Rohilla War and mark an evident disinclination towards me. In that case I can have nothing to hope, and shall consider myself at liberty to quit this hateful scene before my enemies gain their complete triumph over me.

"If, on the contrary, my conduct is commended, and I read in the general letters clear symptoms of a proper disposition towards me, I will wait the issue of my appeals.

"I have imparted this resolution to no other person on your side of the water, and I leave it to your discretion and Maclean's to make such use of it as you think proper. I shall certainly contrive to stop at the Cape for sake of intelligence."

In a post-script to his letter of 18th May, Hastings recalled these instructions. The indecent conduct of Francis and his fellows in visiting the imprisoned Nanda Kumar while the conspiracy charge was still pending, had clearly, in Hastings' opinion, taken his enemies to a length fatal to their manoeuvres. "I am now resolved," he writes, "to see the issue of my appeal, believing it impossible that men whose actions are so frantic, can be permitted to remain in charge of so important a trust."

ALTHOUGH Hastings had revoked the discretionary powers he had vested in Maclean, yet the latter apparently felt himself still in the position to work for a compromise, on the basis of Hastings' retirement in honour and the fair treatment of those supporters of his policy who had been unfairly dealt with by the majority opposed to Hastings in the Bengal Council. But the Government were at the time bent on carrying the sterner measure, which, as we have seen, was defeated in the General Court on May the 18th. In August an offer of a compromise came to Maclean from the other side. "The overture," he writes, "was made directly from Lord North through the channel of Mr. Eden, the under-secretary of the Northern Department. This gentleman has since married Sir Gilbert Elliot's daughter, but the courtship had not then commenced. I knew he was the bosom friend of Mr. Wedderburne, and therefore I was suspicious that some deep plot lay under the proffered negotiation. I thought it strange that it did not rather come to me through the medium of Mr. Robinson with whom I had before negotiated or to Mr. Peckel through Lord Clarendon." The Mr. Eden mentioned here was the

father of a future Governor-General—the second Lord and the first Earl of Auckland.

It would serve no useful purpose to detail the course of Lord North's double faced politics. The fact was that he had signally failed in his attempt to strike at Hastings through the India House, and he was seeking to make use of Eden, a man of undoubted honour, in order to embarrass Elliot and consequently Macleane in their warfare on their master's behalf. Through Eden were to come dilatory suggestions of a compromise in order to gain time, silence Hastings' friends, or reveal their hand, while on the other hand a policy of another nature was to be worked out by Robinson through Woodhouse. The latter "in direct terms offered to negotiate for an Irish Peerage for Hastings" while Eden held to it that "nothing of this sort could be done on account of the acrimony and violence with which the contention had been carried on." Elliot and Macleane, after deliberation, feeling that a trap had been set for them, decided that Eden should be informed "that in respect of an honour from the crown, the same reason which made it necessary to demand an honour before Mr. Hastings had undergone the discussion of a General Court, rendered it necessary now to decline it: before this public discussion it was then the only mark that could be given that no stigma remained on Mr. Hastings for his resignation but now that his constituents had acquitted him in the most honourable manner, if an honour was granted, the censorious world would construe it into a bribe for relinquishing his station."

When Elliot gave this answer to Eden, the latter remarked: "It was lucky the honour from the crown was not made a stipulation, because it could not at *that time* be granted; he said it was also lucky no stipulation had been made on Sir Elijah Impey's account." At the unexpected mention of Sir Elijah's name, Elliot startled and broke off the conference. "I was much alarmed at this," writes Macleane, "because I had intelligence that the confidential cabinet had determined to supersede Sir Elijah; I was struck with Elliot's penetration, which has been conspicuous in all his conduct here, and we agreed instantly on the following answer: 'that we had not presumed to mention Sir Elijah's name, because we had never conceived him to be a party in the subject of discussion; but as his name had been mentioned, it alarmed our fears lest he should suffer on Mr. Hastings' account, and therefore, till those fears were removed, it would be highly dishonourable to proceed a step further in the business.' Those fears were removed."

AFTER many devious dealings, a compromise was come to on these terms:—

- "1. That the servants of the Company as had been displaced for attachment to Mr. Hastings be restored; but, as it is not

intended to lay any difficulty on administration, the specific offices will not be insisted on, only adequate offices.

(John Stewart, Playdell, Nat Middleton, and Fred Stewart, were named under the head.)

- "2. That some mark of favour from Government be conferred on such black servants as have been disgraced for the same cause that they may not appear disgraced in the eyes of the natives.
- "3. That Mr. Hastings' friends shall on all occasions receive promotion and favour adequate to their rank in the service and merit, and this to be a point of honour binding on the majority.
- "4. That all *retrospective and prosecution* prior to the late Act of Parliament appointing the Supreme Council cease and determine: and in any case any informer infringed this article, administration shall give their aid to quash and defeat it.
- "5. That Mr. Hastings shall be well received on his return, vote of thanks promoted if moved for, and *nobody to be displaced.*"

HAVING secured these terms, Maclean, with (I suppose) the concurrence of Elliot and Stewart, signified Hastings' desire to resign. In so doing, although acting for what he conceived to be the interests of his friend, Maclean clearly exceeded his powers; and, as we all know, Hastings in the sequel repudiated his agent's action. The North administration soon evinced its sense of the spirit of the compromise by the appointment of Clavering to the Order of the Bath and of Wheeler to the Council in Bengal. Consequent on these appointments, Maclean and Stewart on 13th November 1776, advised Hastings to delay his resignation "till you have authentic accounts from England of some equivalent honour being bestowed on you, capable of counterbalancing its pernicious effects in the eyes of all the world and the hearts of your friends." In a second letter of the same date, Maclean and Stewart, urged still more strongly "you ought not to resign." Elliot, apparently, thought otherwise.

THE records of these negotiations are tedious reading, for we have long since learned that the confidence Hastings placed in the rectitude of Lord North was absurd as the dream that a "ribbon to put on his coat" would turn the strong hands of Warren Hastings from the work he had still before him in Bengal. But these records do bring out the fidelity of the men who served his cause in England in 1776. Our immediate interest is with Elliot and of him Maclean writes on 12th May, 1777:

"Elliot, the *faithful* Elliot, who is the bearer of this, renders a long despatch now unnecessary, because he has either seen

everything or learned everything from me. He, and he alone, had my full confidence, because he alone deserved it. Be not, I entreat you, startled at this declaration, as if I meant to insinuate that you had not very many steady, faithful, and valuable friends; for I never knew any one man that had so many. But permit me to say that Elliot is the friend whom I have found actuated by the most disinterested motives; never endeavouring to clog your wheels by the additional weight of any personal impediments. This was not always the case with others; and it has been impossible for me to content all these who wanted to have made their own affairs a common cause with yours, most of whom I thought had no right to it."

It is interesting to note that in this letter, Maclean alludes to a point of difference between himself and Elliot. "He thinks you are more bound by the resignation than I do, or (from what has been said) than either Lord North or Mr. Robinson." It seems to be the fact that North had no personal feeling whatsoever against Hastings, but was simply moved by his desire to please Clavering's powerful friends, and that latterly, deeply involved as he had become by compromises with Hastings' agents, he dreaded the return for which he had at one time worked! It is in any case significant that Wheler, sent out to fill the vacancy on the Council which would be created by Hastings' expected resignation, on the point of sailing from Portsmouth, got his commission altered, so that he might succeed to Monson instead of Hastings. In post haste the North administration sent to Portsmouth to obtain a written surrender of the first appointment; but in the meantime Wheler's ship, the *Syren*, had sailed. To patch matters up, it was decided in the Secretary of State's office, that Wheler's acceptance of the place vacated by Monson's death had been rendered void his acceptance of a vacancy which Hastings' return would create! After this complete *volte face*, Elliot, perhaps, changed his mind as to the moral necessity of his patron's resignation.

WHAT a relief it is to turn from the dreary pages of Gleig to the charming sketches of contemporary life we find in the lives of the First Earl of Minto and of Hugo Elliot. After all the dexterous diplomacies of the men of those times how pleasant are their affectations, and the little touches of human nature which rescue the hard heartedness of the XVIII century from mental fatigue. Old Sir Gilbert Elliot on more occasions proved a serious political enemy to Lord North, but the young Elliots were on the best of terms socially with the Norths. We get a vision of a "little private party" at which Franky North "personated the young Lady Sutherland, just arrived from the North, and so

well that your friend Cadogan was quite taken in, and made up to the fortune, till all of a sudden Franky gave a great Westminster hallo, to poor Cadogan's extreme confusion." Imagine the seriousness of Eden and Lord North when speaking of Hugh's illness. "He and Lord North took it into their heads to tell me your illness was cured by a large hump growing upon your back higher than your head; and they talked so much about it that they frightened me out of my senses. They had a good laugh at me, because I said I would rather have it myself, or that any of my other brothers should have it, for they were not so handsome; besides that Gilbert being an elder brother, might put his councillor's wig upon it, Allick might cover it with Indian gold, Bob's gown would hide it, but Hugh's hump would never do." The touches of the maccaronis, *coiffures à la légume*,* "Horsman's Coffee-house, Oxford," "sailing peacocks but insufferable coquettes," I am afraid, distract the mind when it should be in pursuit of a doubtful *cui bono* through the dust and dryness of obscure diplomatic intrigues.

To Alexander Elliot, while in England, Warren Hastings, in the first two months of the year 1777, sent a masterly exposition of the policy he proposed to adopt, and for the execution of which he ultimately sought to make use of Elliot's services. This policy it will be seen anticipates the Subsidiary Treaties System which Wellesley carried into far reaching effect. Although this letter is lengthy and has been given in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, I make bold to reprint it in this place.

TO MR. ALEXANDER ELLIOT.

FORT WILLIAM, 12th January 1777.

MY DEAR ELLIOT,—This letter will comprise our connected subject; and to render this intelligible, I shall take it up from a very early period.

After the famous defeat of the Maharattas at Ponnipet, Sudaba, the second officer in command, and the first cousin of Ragonaut Row or Rajoba, the late Peshwar and competitor of the Ministers at Poona, was missing, and supposed to have been slain. About three years after, a man disfigured with wounds made his appearance under the name of Sodaba, with a small force; was attacked and defeated, made prisoner, and exposed as an impostor by the ruling Peshwar. From that time he continued a prisoner till the month of April last, when he escaped from his confinement, collected a considerable army, and even made himself master of all the country called Concan, which lies between the hills and the sea. On the 27th of October, he ventured on an engagement with the forces of the

* "The Hands in France are now higher than ever, and England follows space. Two or three ladies have sported such a quantity of feathers, blonde, flowers, artificial cherries, plums, strawberries, grass, radishes (which is called *coiffures à la légume*), cauliflower, etc., etc., all at once upon the same head, that it has frightened the least the adventurous part of the sex."

actual government, was totally routed, put to sea in open vessel, and sailed to the island of Bombay, where he demanded protection. Unfortunately for him, the Governor and second in command were both absent at Salsette and Mr. Draper, who had charge of the Fort, sending two persons of inferior rank to receive him, the devoted fugitive construed this into an insult, and in a fit of ill-timed pride instantly departed, threw himself into the hands of a Maharatta chief named Ragojee Angria, who delivered him up a prisoner to the Ministers at Poona. Ragonaut Row was more fortunate, escaped to Bombay, where he was received and probably continues there. It is said that Mr. Hornby, on the first news of Sudaba's confinement, sent a deputation to Ragojee Angria to demand him, with a declaration of war in case of a refusal. Such at least is the representation of this affair, which we received from Poona, where both this measure and the asylum granted to Ragoba are treated as acts of hostility against the Maharatta State and direct infringements of the treaty. We too have taken up the charges as such, and sent peremptory orders to the Presidency of Bombay to dismiss Ragonaut Row. In the meanwhile Colonel Upton continues, notwithstanding our repeated orders for his recall, at Poona, whether by his free consent or by constraint is uncertain. The style both of his letters and of those of the Peshwa seem to confirm the common report of his being detained there by force. This is not the only suspicious circumstance. All the letters from Poona, both before and since the ratification of the treaty, are filled with reproaches for the hostile acts which preceded it, and even strong indications that the authors of them did not regard the treaty as binding, but on the persons only who signed it. Their last letters, which were written immediately after the overthrow of Sudaba, contain a demand on behalf of the king of Tanjore, whose name never before appeared in any papers of their correspondence or negotiation with Colonel Upton. These are, at the best, but doubtful symptoms; and added to the indisposition which the presidency of Bombay have all along shown to the late treaty I portend but a short duration to the peace concluded by it.

By the overthrow of Sudaba, the internal troubles which have so long disturbed the Maharatta State appear to have been so far appeased as to leave them at full leisure to promote remote undertakings. The same letters that brought us the news of this event also informed us that the ministers had set on foot an expedition against Hyder Ally. By other channels we learn that Nizam Ally Cawn and Muddajee Boscia, the Raja of Berar, have been invited and have agreed to join their forces on this occasion.

So sudden a revival and reunion of the powers of this great empire, and so sudden an application of them immediately on the close of a long civil war, indicate a degree of vigour in its constitution which cannot fail to alarm the friends of the Company, if the subsequent appearances shall warrant this conclusion. I think they will not, but persuade myself that the present conjuncture is no less favourable than any of the past (always excepting this ill-fated treaty with Ragoba) for advancing the interests of the Company, and extending their influence and connections. I will tell you why.

In the first place, a confederacy formed between the Peshwa, the Subadar of Deccan, who has plundered the Maharattas of a great part of the Poona state, and the Chief of Berar, its nominal vassal, all possessing mutual claims on each other, and awayed by opposite interests, cannot hold long together. In the second, the Government of Poona is weak in itself, by want of constitutional authority in those who possess the rule of it, and by want of unanimity amongst themselves. Nana Maratha Furness, one of their principal members, has openly separated himself from the rest. Their chief, Saccum Bhaboo, is old and infirm; and both he and Nana Furness, who are the only parties to the treaty lately concluded with us in the name of the Maharatta state, lately demanded and received

passports from the Government to retire to Benares, with the avowed design of passing the remainder of their lives there in devotion. This design, though probably suggested only by the personal dangers to which they were exposed by the rapid successes of Sudaba, must diminish the confidence and respect which are the natural attendants of a fixed and regular authority. And thirdly, the Government of Berar possesses in it the seeds of civil discord, which are at this time ready to spring up on the first occasion that can favour their growth. This is a subject that requires me to be more explicit than I have been on others; and this too I must take up *ad ope*.

Ragoojee Boosla, the Raja of Berar, the same person who invaded Bengal, and subjected it to the Chaut in the time of the Nabab Alliverdy Cawn, dying left four sons, Jannoojee, Shabajee, Moodajee and Bimbajee. Jannoojee succeeded him. He having no child, adopted the son of Moodajee, who was called by the name of his grand-father, Ragoojee. On the death of Jannoojee, Shabajee, the second brother, succeeded to the Government, but held it in the name of his nephew, the legal heir. This was the cause of continual dissensions between the two brothers—Shabajee holding the Government in right of primogeniture, Moodajee claiming it on behalf of his own son, though the legal affinity between them was changed by his elder brother's adoption. In the late dissensions between Ragoonaut Row and the ministers of Poona, Shabajee took part with the former, and Moodajee with the latter; but their own affairs calling them home before these were decided they came to an open rupture. Shabajee was slain, and his brother assumed the Government in his stead.

Here I must go back to relate another transaction more immediately connected with the subject of this letter. Shabajee, a little before his return to Berar, sent a Vakeel, named Beneram Pundit, to Calcutta, with a letter containing professions of friendship and a desire to be on terms of alliance with this Government. I thought this an occasion not to be slighted, and returned such an answer as was most proper to encourage Shabajee without expressing too interested a solicitude to meet them; and I sent the Vakeel back big with the project of uniting the province of Berar to this Government on terms similar to those which had been formed with Sujah Dowla by the treaty concluded at Benares, and which I may venture to say were such as afforded the Company every advantage that could be derived from such an alliance without derogating from the dignity or credit of our ally.

While Beneram was on his return, the revolution took place which I have mentioned above; and as he was known to be the confidential servant of Shabajee, some time elapsed before he ventured to return to his new master. Being at length, however, invited to come he went and was well received. Moodajee read the letters, and answered them as addressed to himself; and after sometime, thought proper to send him such in his former character, with handsome professions, but general, and with no declared object or instructions. A very friendly, and in some sort confidential correspondence, however, has continued between us ever since. From Beneram Pundit I learned that the same seeds which formerly divided the two brothers while living, are now likely to break out between Moodajee and his son, who is now about nineteen years of age, and begins to look upon his father as the usurper of his rights. In these sentiments he has been confirmed by a man who has been the successive minister of the three brothers, named Dewungar Pundit, who finds himself of too little consequence with his present master and naturally concludes that he shall acquire a greater ascendant on the mind of his young pupil, if he should succeed in obtaining his advancement to the possession of the Government. By the intrigues of this man, Nizam Ally has been induced to invite Moodajee Boosla to his court, for the purpose of concerting measures for their common interests, and to send his Dewan if he should be prevented from

attending himself. To the last proposition Moodajee has consented, as he mentions in a letter I have recently received from him; and I understand that it is proposed that Ragujee shall accompany him with the secret design of gaining the support of Nuam Ally in the prosecution of the projects against Moodajee. Whatever may be the issue of these measures, a proper attention to the circumstances as they arise might put it easily in the power of this Government, were it duly authorised, to convert them to the advantage of the Company without any sacrifice of their faith or hazard of their interests.

THIS letter is in itself a most remarkable testimony to the confidence reposed by Warren Hastings in his young friend. It also introduces us to the subject of the diplomatic mission in the course of which Elliot was to die. Here, for the present, I must break my story of Alexander Elliot's career, I have left him hastening back to India in search of a mysterious French adventurer sent out by M. Sartines to stir up strife between the Maratha durbars and the English Governments at Bombay and Calcutta. Elliot followed up a false scent. The adventurer was in reality a Chevalier de St. Lubin and not as he supposed a Chevalier Montalgu. I have studied the unpublished documents preserved at the Imperial Records, but, as at the time these lines must go to press I have not as yet received permission to make use of their contents; I must, for the present at least, end the story here. As, however, in a letter that was published many years ago, Hastings makes mention of Elliot's sensational seizure of the escaping French chiefs of Chandernagore and Balasore at Cuttack, I may here say that their names were Jean Baptiste Chevalier and James Sanson. I should also wish to add that since the greater part of these notes were in print, an article embodying some information concerning Elliot, which I had imparted to a friend, has appeared in the *Pioneer* and been reprinted in the *Statesman*. The letter in which this information was given was obviously not of a private nature, and it was indeed written to be shown to any one interested in the subject; but I cannot help feeling rather sorry that the article, although written with a literary charm I cannot myself supply, should have robbed these poor notes of much of their freshness and given to the public an account which a little more research could have so easily enriched.

I HAVE recently been able to procure for the Society a copy of Henry Vereist's *View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*. This copy is of exceptional interest as it at one time belonged to Dr. George Smith and before him to Archibald Swinton and is annotated by the latter. I extract the following from the *Statesman* :—

ARCHIBALD SWINTON.

THE FOUNDER OF MESSRS. BURN & CO.

It will be of interest, "H.B." writes in *Burn's Monthly Magazine*, to note something of history of the founder of Burn & Co. Captain Swinton's family can be traced back to



INDIAN WOMEN.
From an Engraving of a Portrait by A. W. Davis.



HARRISON'S HALL.
(Photo by G. F. Harper, Bang.)



HARRISON'S HOUSE.
(Photo by G. F. Harper, Bang.)

1016 to that ancient Scotch family, "The Swinton's of that ilk" Barony of Swintons, County Berwick, in the eleventh century, during the reigns of Macbeth and Malcolm III.

This family had many illustrious members, but Archibald Swinton, about whom I now write, began life as a surgeon's mate on an East Indiaman and went to India in or about the year 1752. On his arrival he quitted that service for the medical department of the army, which he joined in the field. He was thus occupied for seven years till he obtained the rank of Surgeon. In the meantime his gallantry had attracted the notice of Clive and Carnac, and, at their instigation, he exchanged, in 1759, his medical appointment for an ensigncy in the Company's service. He was made Lieutenant in 1761 and Captain in 1763.

Captain Swinton was at a later period Aide-de-camp to General Carnac, but it was for his services in an independent command that he received in 1764 the commendations of the Governor in Council of Bengal. In letters sent to the Court of Directors, he frequently gained particular notice as an officer of extraordinary merit. He commanded the troops on the expedition to Mackley and on being ordered to return to Dacca when the troubles began, contributed greatly by his activity and bravery to the recovery of the factory and reduction of the city. At the siege of Monghyr, he received a wound in the arm, but this did not prevent his proceeding to Patna with the army, where he received another wound which occasioned the loss of his right arm. Captain Swinton further signalled his stay in India by raising a Company of Sepoys which long bore his name. He also held some high military appointments, and for his knowledge of Persian and his acquaintance with the language and manners of the Indian races, Captain Swinton was shown special favour and regard for his zeal in the service. His portrait in this capacity occupies a place in a large historical picture by West. This picture is now in the possession of the Earl of Windsor. Captain Swinton before returning home to Scotland in 1766, evidently in conjunction with Mr. Burn, started this business. Thus 146 years ago the foundation of Burn & Co. was commenced, and has since developed into an Engineering and Ship-building Company now the largest in the East.

While I have been at work in recovering the story of Alexander Elliot, I have also been engaged in seeing through the press a reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India*, and I have been delighted to find how, in one or two places, the two subjects worked the one into the other. The French diplomatist, after whom Elliot went on a wild goose chase through Egypt and over the Red Sea, Mrs. Fay met with at Mocha on her way out. I have not the least doubt that the M. Chevalier who underwent those terrible experiences in the Egyptian desert which Mrs. Fay recounts was one of the two chiefs of French Factories whom Elliot caused to be arrested at Cuttack and sent *en parole* to Calcutta. These two chiefs were Jean Baptiste Chevalier of Chandernagore, and James Sanaon (not Law as we read in the *Great Proconsul*) of Balasore. Mrs. Fay's descriptions of persons and places in old Calcutta have been quoted again and again, but it is a thousand pities that not even a single writer has drawn attention to the unfailing interest of her book from first page to the last. In her earliest letters she gives us an account of a journey from Paris to Leghorn partly in a chaise and partly on horseback. Her economies were minute, for she records her disgust

with an unreasonable hotel keeper who charged half a crown a night for a bedroom. Mrs. Fay preferred the inns where guests slept in the fashion recorded at the close of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, and at four *sous* a night, not for a room, but for one bed out of possibly six. The most remarkable thing is that, although Mrs. Fay has much to say as to her discomforts, yet she was making her way through France at the time when England and France were at war. She suffered much, but her escapes were on the whole even more remarkable than her sufferings.

THAT her book should have remained so long out of print may excite the surprise of its present readers. We begin with a journey across France at a time when that country was at war with England, and at Paris we catch a brief but brilliant vision of Marie Antoinette. Despite the war, Paris is implected with Anglo-mania. Then, after that marvellous economical trip across France and over Mont Cenis to Leghorn, comes the story of the anxious passage across Egypt. What could be more harrowing than the story of the Chevallier brothers? At Mocha we meet with the Chevalier St. Lubin, and "the elegant manners, superior information, and sumptuous style" of that gentleman induced Mrs. Fay to plead his cause against a wiser, the Mr. Fuller who would feign have arrested that arch intriguer. Buried away in a ponderous volume of *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (Maratha Series, Vol. I.)* will be found the story of St. Lubin's ventures at the Court of Poona and in Mr. Forrest's *Selections from State Papers preserved in the Foreign Office (1772-1785)* will be found the record of Sir Phillip Francis' mad attempt to represent St. Lubin's Mission as devoid of importance. Well might Mrs. Fay write later on: "Little did I think when pleading the cause of the Chevalier de St. Lubin at Mocha that he had been raising a storm whose effects would involve us so materially." Alas! what poor Mrs. Fay admired in others she clearly overmuch admired in herself—that "superior information." If her estimate of the baseness of her fellow passengers may finely be discounted by 30 per cent. those gentlefolk would still remain contemptible but as one reads her lines and at the same time reads between them, one is tempted to think that too self-conscious "superior information," combined with an economy which goes to bed at an inn at four *sous* a night, is not the best calculated to make friends. Not even her sufferings at Calicut could win for her her husband's heart. He was a wild wild Irishman—an obstinate dissipated man on his way out to an impossible land for those who seek "another chance:" his long-suffering wife was a Plutarch in petticoats, an English Madame Roland, not without the talent for rhetoric yet

devoid of a facility for grammar. But surely, when we read the story of the severe suffering of this little body of British travellers, how sad we cannot but feel when we find that here when social rivalry had stepped in and not even adversity could make its proverbially strange companions. The story of the imprisonment of the English at Cochin may claim to be at least as interesting as Mrs. Fay's prattle about Belvedere and the "Harmonic."

THE reader will note that, despite Mrs. Fay's ill-fortunes, she had at least an increasing sense of the guidance of Providence. In the earlier chapters of her book she does not dignify that word with a capital letter; but she does so latter on. It is, however, curious to note that she does not record the fact that the *Grosvener*, on which she had so much hoped to be able to make her return to England, met with a terrible fate off the East African Coast. On board this ship, were Mrs. Fay's friends the Hoseas: they had taken under their charge Sir Robert Chambers' little six-year-old son, while they had left their own new-born baby with Lady Chambers. The separation from her little grandson had broken the tender heart of dear brave old Mrs. Chambers, who had accompanied her son, Sir Robert, to India, and after the birth of his first-born simply lived on in the child's life. Let Miss Bletchynden tell us the rest of the story:—

"In due course the *Grosvener* sailed from Madras; five months later she had arrived off the east coast of Africa, and there, on the 3rd of August, 1782, she was cast away, at a point near Durban, on the shore of what was then an unexplored country, inhabited by savages, and five hundred miles from the nearest civilized settlement, a town of the Dutch, who then held the Cape. The survivors of the wreck numbered no fewer than one hundred and thirty-five persons, Europeans and natives. The officers and passengers mentioned in the accounts given in the papers of the time were the Commander, Captain Coxon,* and his three officers, Messrs. Logie, Shaw and Beall; the purser, Mr. Hay; the chief's wife, Mrs. Logie, and passengers Colonel and Mrs. James, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea with their daughter; two other girls, Miss Dennis and Miss Wilmot, little Thomas Chambers and another child, and Captain Adair, Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Newman, besides two native women, servants to Mrs. Hosea and Mrs. Logie. "Cast among savages, who grew ever bolder and more threatening, hampered by the sick, the injured, and the weakly—cut off from every prospect of escape by sea, the unfortunate castaways essayed the impossible task of marching through an unknown and hostile country, in the hope of reaching the Dutch Settlement five hundred miles away. Starting in a body,

* This very morning an autograph letter of Captain Coxon has been lying in my hands.—W. K. F.

they soon broke up into parties, the strongest hurrying forward trusting to be able to reach the goal and bring help back to their weaker companions. Gradually their number dwindled; disease, privation and exposures destroyed those who escaped the hands of the savages; and, in the end, all who escaped that wrecked ship's company eighteen alone survived to return to their friends. Of these six men succeeded in reaching the Dutch Settlement after a perilous journey of one hundred and seventeen days: and three sailors, seven lascars, and the two women servants were rescued, nearly two years later, by the first of the several expeditions which were sent out at different times by the Dutch to search for any of the survivors. With the rescue of these eighteen persons, the story of the wreck of the *Grosvener* closed in contemporary records, but, as years passed on, again and again came strange rumours of Englishwomen being seen in the Kaffir kraals, dressed in Kaffir fashion, and refusing to leave their savage surroundings on the plea that they had become contented mothers of families and were no longer willing or able to return to their old lives. During the Kaffir war of 1835, a curious incident partly raised the veil of doubt and mystery which enwrapped the fate of the lost lady passengers. A tribe of native warriors offered their services as "brothers" to the English against their own countrymen, the Kaffirs, saying that their tribe, which numbered six hundred souls, were descendants of the English ladies who had been wrecked in the *Grosvener* fifty years before, and now, at this day, that tribe stands out distinct from its fellows. And when men visit the rugged coast of Zululand, and, looking down through the clear waters, see the weed-grown guns and iron that mark the spot where lay the wreck, they tell again the story of the lost East Indiaman, and their thoughts rest in pity on the shadowy pathetic figures of those Englishwomen who, dead to their former world and all that they held most dear, lived out their lives as wives and mothers among an alien and savage race."

It is curious that Mrs. Fay has not a word to say on the score of the disaster which befell the *Grosvener*, and it is still more curious to find that, although her kind patrons the Chambers were still in Calcutta when she visited our City for the second time (February 1796), she has nothing to tell us about them. Of Chambers and his friendship with Goldsmith and Dr. Samuel Johnson an account has been given by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. Of Lady Chambers Dr. Johnson wrote: "Chambers is either married or almost married to Miss Wilton, a girl of sixteen, exquisitely beautiful, whom he has, with his lawyer's tongue, persuaded to take her chance with him in the East." She was the daughter of Joseph Wilton, a Royal Academician, and with Miss Meyer she had sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for his Hebe. A reference to her will be found in *Hartley House*.

It is generally admitted by Calcutta antiquarians that the "Belvedere" at which Mrs. Fay visited Mrs. Warren Hastings is "Hastings House" and not the present "Belvedere"—the palace of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal. I have to thank my friend, Mr. C. F. Hooper, for the two views, one an exterior and one an interior of Hastings House, which accompany these "Notes." Much patient industry would be required to decide how much of the present Hastings House was in existence in the days of Mrs. Fay.

The Reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* will very shortly be ready for distribution to the subscribers. The volume will be the first of our Society's series of Reprints, and it is much to be hoped that it will meet with a sale calculated to encourage others of the Society to go further afield. The price of the book will be only three and a half rupees. Orders for copies should be registered with Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co, Government Place, Calcutta.

In 1891, the old house known as Lord Clive's at Dum-Dum was the Volunteer Head Quarters. To the *Third Annual Report of the Presidency Volunteer Reserve Battalion* for that year, R. C. Sterndale contributed the following note:—

"Dum-Dum House, or as it is sometimes called by the natives, the killa (the fort), is a building of some historic interest; it is probably one of the oldest existing buildings in Bengal, as it was in existence, though not in its present form, before the sack of Calcutta by the Nawab Suraj-ud-daula in 1756.

"The first mention of it occurs in Orme's *History of the War in Bengal*; he states that when Clive marched through the Nawab's Camp at Sealdah, on the morning of the 8th February, 1757, in a dense fog, he crossed the Dum-Dum Road: 'this road,' says the historian, 'leads to Dum-Dum, an old building stationed on a mound.'

"The Cantonment and Station of Dum-Dum were not established until nearly fifty years later, but the Bengal Artillery used to come out to Dum-Dum to practise on the plain, when the officers used to occupy the old building, while the men were camped in the grounds.

"The building appears to have originally been a one-storied blockhouse, so constructed as to secure a flank fire along each face, with underground chambers or cellars, the walls were of great thickness from four to eight feet thick, while they were further strengthened by massive buttresses, between which the walls were apparently loopholed for musketry. No authentic account of the origin of this building can be found, but it was probably either a Dutch or Portuguese Factory. The native tradition is that the mound on

which it stands was thrown up by a spirit in a single night, and to this day the house and grounds have the reputation of being haunted. Some time after the Battle of Plassey, Lord Clive made the old building his country-house, altering the lower story, so as to destroy its character as a defensive position, and building a fine upper story; the grounds were also laid out with great expense and taste in the then prevailing formal Dutch style. Bishop Heber, nearly seventy years ago, speaks of this house as then presenting a venerable appearance, and being surrounded by very pretty walks and shrubberies. No remains of these now exist though the lines of the old walks and garden paths may be traced through the thin turf in the dry summer. From its elevated position and the massiveness of its structure, the old house would be still capable of a stout defence against anything but artillery."

WALTER K. FIRMINGILL.



Note on Khijiri and Hijili.

BY H. G. REAKS, ASSISTANT RIVER SURVEYOR.*

Reprinted here by kind permission of His Honor The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

[The historical details are chiefly from *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by C. R. Wilson, and the *Calcutta Gazette*.]



THE inconspicuous little village of Hijili hidden in a grove at the junction of the Rusulpur and Hooghly Rivers, 85 miles by boat from Calcutta, is perhaps one of the least known of the many places associated with early English history in India. Yet when "John Company" was striving for a foothold in Bengal, this village, the scene of a hard fought battle, possessed an importance which the uninformed casual visitor of to-day would scarcely understand. The gate of Bengal, as it was in Charnock's time, was situated in a fertile country, and was by reason of its important salt manufactories a source of rich revenue to the Mogul whose appanage it was. A small fort commanded the river, and a mosque, the shrine of Masnad Ali Shah, the first Muhammadan ruler of the place, was, as it is to this day, the chief point of interest in this village. History reports that on the approach of the victorious army of Akbar, Masnad Ali, an independent ruler, had buried himself alive, leaving to his son the repugnant duty of surrendering. This happened in the early part of the 16th century, and the scene of this self-immolation has ever since been held as especially sacred. There is a legend current in the neighbourhood that, in the great cyclone of 1864, when the storm-wave swept inland and inundated the country for miles around, the sea miraculously failing to invade the small tank attached to the mosque, the water was found sweet when the storm subsided and saved numbers from dying of thirst, and Hindus and Muhammadans alike now regard the shrine with the greatest veneration. Considerable changes have from time to time taken place in the geographical features of the country. In 1687, when the chief events connected with its history took place, the principal approach for ships to the Hooghly lay close alongside this shore. Vessels of deep draft apparently still loaded and unloaded at Balasore further down the coast, though the Company had inaugurated the survey of the river in 1668, and the

* The charts and plans which accompany this official paper we hope to be able to reproduce in our next issue. — EDITOR, B. P. & F.

first British ship, the *Falcon*, had sailed up the river in 1679. Opposite Hijili, on the west bank of Rousulpur River, the village of Dariapur nestled in a range of sand-hills which still stretch down the coast forming a natural protection for the country against inundation. Four miles above Hijili lay Cowcolly, where later in 1810 was built the first lighthouse on the Hooghly, and three miles beyond that a grove of tall casuarina trees, which even to this day forms a prominent land-mark, showed the position of Khijiri, destined later to rise into a station of some importance, and finally in our time to sink again into insignificance. Above Khijiri, the Khijiri River or Kunjapur Khâl flowing westward met the Rousulpur River, and the Cowcolly River running from near their junction out to the Hooghly bisected this tract of land into two large islands. The country was "exceedingly pleasant and fruitful, having great store of wild hogs, deer, wild buffalo and tigers." To-day a strip of jungle surrounding Hijili contains a few deer and an occasional leopard. These are practically the only large game to be found on the western shore of the Hooghly. The Khijiri River has shrunk into a narrow creek called the Talpati Khâl, and nearly all traces of the Cowcolly River have been lost in the paddy-fields outside the sea dyke below the lighthouse.

In 1686, after the successful attack on and retirement from Hooghly, the English ships were in full possession of the river, but had no proper base on shore. Charnock was waiting at Sutanuti, which he later selected as the site for the settlement which has grown into modern Calcutta, for the fulfilment of the promises of protection and redress made by the Nawab of Bengal. An ally had been found in the owner of the country round Hijili, who was in conflict with Shayista Khan the Nawab, and when the latter, after delaying to gain time for preparation, flatly repudiated his promises, the English fleet in February 1687 sailed down the river to take possession of Hijili, destroying, in passing, the fort of Thana just below the present Botanical Gardens. Hijili was occupied without trouble, and Charnock set to work immediately to make himself secure in the town, and in the meanwhile Balasore was seized and sacked. Things however now began to take a more unfavourable turn. Malaria and the heat worked havoc in Charnock's small force of 420 men; provisions began to grow scarce; his native ally seceded; and the enemy who had been driven out of the fort, kept up a bombardment from a battery on the other side of the river, which two successful attacks failed to silence completely. The small fleet of sloops had to keep constantly patrolling round the islands to prevent surprises, and to keep the natives from crossing to the mainland with their grain and cattle. To make the situation more desperate, the army of the Nawab, twelve thousand strong, under Abdu-s Samad, arrived in the middle of May and commenced hostilities with great activity. A large force was established at Dariapur and a powerful battery there drove the ships out

of the Rusulpur and threatened the landing place which had to be protected by a battery of two guns. Charnock had also mounted guns on a masonry building lying between the fort of Hijili and the landing place, to secure his line of retreat to the ships. The necessary guards for these drew away from his small body of men of whom he was sadly in need to defend his main position. His force had been thinned down to barely 100 men capable of bearing arms, and only one Lieutenant and four Sergeants remained of the forty Officers who came to Hijili. The fort itself was but a small house surrounded by a wall, and when on the 28th May a body of the enemy, 700 cavalry and 300 gunners, infuriated with *dharg*, crossed the Rusulpur at the place still used for a ferry and swept down from the north through the forest on to the town, it seemed impossible for the small knot of emaciated men, fighting for bare life in the fort, to escape annihilation. In that hour the future existence of Calcutta trembled in the balance, and without Charnock to guide them in the later troublous times, who can say how the fortunes of the English in Bengal would have prospered? But with the enemy in possession of the village and even within the entrenchments, Charnock held grimly on and at last with night-fall Abdu-s Samad's force drew off. The chief attack had failed, but for four days, while Charnock made preparations to evacuate, a constant harassing fight had to be sustained. It was an opportune moment for the display of "God Almighty's good providence which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company," and it was signalled by the arrival from England, on the 2nd of May, of a reinforcement of 70 men under Captain Denham. The enemy was beaten in a counter attack, and in the respite given by this success, Charnock had recourse to a simple expedient for multiplying his reinforcements in the imagination of Abdu-s Samad. Scattered inconspicuously in twos and threes and by divers ways, the men were sent out of the fort, and assembling at the landing place, marched back again with colours flying and drums beating. This manoeuvre was repeated till it seemed to the enemy as if a stream of reinforcements was pouring into the fort. The stratagem was attended with wonderful success, and on the 4th of June Abdu-s Samad made overtures of peace, which was concluded on the 10th of June on the basis of the fulfilment of the promises made at Sutanuti by the Nawab. Charnock left Hijili to the Mogul Commander and proceeded up to Ulabaria. As thanks for his magnificent defence, Charnock received the following letter from the Court in England, part of which is quoted above:—"It is of vanity to fancy that your prudence or subtlety procured at last those good terms you obtained of Abdu-s Samad when you and your forces were by your errors aforesaid reduced to that low condition you were in upon the Island of Hijili. It was not your wit or contrivance, but God Almighty's good providence, which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company."

Since that date Hijli has gradually decayed, and the fort having disappeared, tradition in the neighbourhood has merely crystallized round the sacrifice of Masnad Ali, of which the shrine is a concrete memorial.

With the rise of Calcutta, Khijiri being a fairly sheltered anchorage at the head of open sea navigation, became an important station. The journey up the river to Calcutta was considered too tedious and dangerous of the larger vessels, and these accordingly lay in the roads at Khijiri, and there unshipped and shipped cargo and passengers who were brought to and from Calcutta in sloops. An Agent's house and Port Office were built, and a town grew up rapidly with taverns for the accommodation of passengers waiting for their vessels. The following advertisement from the *Calcutta Gazette* indicates how considerable the place had become by the end of the 18th century:—"For sale by auction on the 29th May 1792, a large upper-roomed house and premises situate at Kedgerree containing a hall, four bed-rooms and an open verandah standing on eight bighas of ground more or less." Communication with Calcutta in those days was maintained entirely by boats. Fast rowing pinnaces went out from Khijiri to meet incoming vessels and receive the earliest news from Europe for the various newspapers which flourished in Calcutta, and naturally there were exciting races to town to secure the first publication of the news. Later a string of semaphores, which transmitted messages by the movement of arms, was established. This, of course, was entirely superseded by the introduction of the electric telegraph in 1852, but some of the towers may still be seen on the banks of the river as at Brul, Dhaja and Hooghly Point.

Communication with Calcutta must have been fairly easy in 1784, as an advertisement on the 19th of August of that year states that "John Lambe, a midshipman belonging to the *Berrington*, eloped from the said ship at Kedgerree about the 20th of July last, and soon after was seen in Calcutta."

In 1836, Custom House Officers boarded incoming ships at Khijiri and left them there on their outward journey. The channel continued along the shore till 1864 when it shifted to mid-river, and since then Khijiri anchorage and channel have steadily deteriorated. With the desertion of the vessels, Khijiri immediately lost importance, and a tidal semaphore and an occasional bazar are the only things of living interest in the place.

There are at the present time two large brick buildings, one a Public Works Department bungalow and the other used as a Post Office through which a daily service by *dal* runners is maintained with Kukrahat and Diamond Harbour. The chief historical attraction is a well preserved cemetery enclosed within a wall situated at the back of the Post Office, and till quite recently the numerous tombs, some of considerable size and striking appearance, showed the past importance of the town. A few years ago the

earliest inscription which could be found, was on a detached and broken slab dated 1800, and to the memory of the boatswain of a ship; but some of the graves without inscriptions were probably of an earlier date.

At present there are 35 tombs, 21 with inscriptions, the most ancient of which is as follows:—

To the Memory of
MR. NIEL MCINNIS,
late midshipman of the
Honourable Company's
ship *Danira*,
Died 10th September 1818.
Age 16 years.

Another stone bears the following :—

Sacred
To the Memory of
CHARLOTTE ANN,
the young daughter of late
Reverend Thomas Bracken,
of Ickenham, Middlesex,
and of St. James', West Minster,
Who departed this life
On board the H. C. E. I. ship
The George the Fourth
On the 12th November 1820.
Age 18 years and 11 months.

This monument was erected by her brother
Thomas Bracken, Esq.,
of the firm of Messrs. Alexander & Co.,
Calcutta and Ensign Chase Bracken
of the H. C. Military service,
whose expectations of welcoming a
beloved sister to India were miserably
mocked by receiving only her remains
and feelings of whose . . .

In performing this last sad office of
affection can be understood by those alone
whom hope has thus flattered and thus
disappointed.

In those days before Darjeeling and other hill sanatoriums existed, invalids were often sent for a change to the Sandheads, though the advantages were not always obvious, as is shown by the following extract from an editorial in the *Indian Gazette* of May 1823 recommending Bircool on the coast below Hijili as a health station:—"We have often doubted the propriety of sending persons in debilitated health on board of a Pilot schooner to be tossed to and fro at the Sandheads. Yet we hardly know what otherwise is to be done in these cases, unless indeed valetudinarians could be conveniently sent to Pooree (Jaggernath) or the Neilgharry Hills. Both these places, however, are too distant from Calcutta to be available in urgent cases. When a person is sent to the Sandheads for his health, it must be for one of two things or both—the sea air and the motion. In many cases the motion is by far too violent. In a shore station again, one may have the sea air and all the various necessities of life only to be got on land; and if the exercise of sailing is requisite, it may be taken in a boat, provided the weather answer."

There is a place on the sea coast not far from Hijili called Bircool which thirty or forty years ago was reckoned, we believe, the "Brighton of Calcutta."

Some of the invalids sent for a sea trip to the Sandheads failed to recover, and were buried at Khijiri, and one tomb there has the following epitaph:—

To the Memory of
EMELIA,
Wife of Edward Maxwell Esq.,
Judge and Magistrate of Dinapore,
Who departed this life,
Aged 25 years and 2 months,
After a painful illness of many months,
On the 26th July, 1822,
On board the *Earl Balcarras* Indiaman
At the New Anchorage.

The sanguine hope of a husband who adored her
That the dread calamity
Would be averted by the effects of the sea air
Proved vain immediately on the return
of the ship
Owing to the loss of her rudder after an
escape from danger.
When sorrow weeps o'er Virtue's Sacred Dust
Our tears become us and our grief is just :

Such are the tears he shed who grateful pays
This last sad Tribute of his Love and Praise ;
Who mourns the best of wives and friends combined
Where female softness met a manly mind :
Mourns but not murmurs, weeps but not despairs,
Feels as a man, but as a Christian bears.

In front of the Post Office a large gun, spiked, which was formerly the signal gun of the place, may be seen close by the remains of the old Signal Mast. Besides these, a ruined well and some traces of the ruins of houses are all that remain of the once flourishing town of Khijiri.

The coast line has suffered severely at various times from cyclones. In 1737, a storm-wave swept over the country, causing great destruction in lives and property. Again, in June 1823, the land for 6 or 7 miles was inundated and the beach was strewn with wreckage, after the gale. Ten years later another cyclone caused extensive damage to the whole stretch of country, and destroyed 14 years' work of the Saugor Island Cultivation Society on the other side of the river. The Khijiri Bazar was washed away, and a "Mr. Horton's house at Kedgerce was riddled through by the water breaking during the brunt of the gale from 4 to 5 feet over the lower floor." Then followed the cyclone of 1842 with a storm-wave that again swept over the country, and finally in October 1864 the historic Calcutta cyclone inundated the country and caused tremendous destruction. There is a marble slab above the front door of the Cowcolly Light House showing the height to which the water rose, which is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the level of the land. The *Salween* survey ship was driven on shore, and when the storm abated found the Khijiri Post Office practically under her bowsprit.

Within recent years the cyclone of 26th November 1901 did considerable damage to the country. A great portion of the land outside the sea dyke was under water, a country boat being afterwards observed supported in a small tree about a quarter of a mile inland.

In the 17th century, there were two approaches to the River Hooghly, one from Balasore along the western shore and the other from Balasore across the Braces to Saugor. The latter then ran across the river and united with the former channel just below Khijiri, where there was deep water and an anchorage. The western channel gradually shoaled, and as will be seen in the chart of 1810, by Lieutenant Court, the main passage for vessels curved in a large sweep from Saugor to Khijiri, and then across the river again to Mud Point.

The anchorage for vessels was in an embayment in the shore opposite the Post Office and just above Khijiri Point, where the semaphore now stands. In 1864, a deeper route opened in mid-river, and since then the main channel

has shifted once to the eastern shore and has recently returned to its mid-river position. When the current abandoned the western shore, Khijiri anchorage became a sort of silting-ground and gradually disappeared. The shore crept out till the embayment was filled in and a regular coast line was obtained. The change will be appreciated by a glance at the chart of 1907. There is now dry land where vessels used to anchor in 20 and 21 feet of water, and till quite recently, when it fell down, an old wooden tide-gauge, which formerly stood at the water's edge, presented a forlorn appearance three-fourths of a mile inshore. The channel north of Khijiri will be seen by the charts also to have altered a great deal. Formerly it struck from Khijiri right across the river to Mud Point, and then ran up the eastern shore to Diamond Harbour. Now-a-days it runs up mid-river till abreast Mud Point, and then curves in to the western bank along which it continues till it reaches Kulpee.

The Kaukhali Lighthouse, which was built in 1810 to guide vessels into Khijiri roads, is a massive brick structure, 80 feet high, which has weathered four storm-waves. It is used now by the Chandbali and Balasore passenger steamers of light draft, which still run down the Western channel.

Mr. Weston, Collector of Midnapur, writes that another grave has been discovered, the broken head-stone being in the P. W. house at Kedgerce. The inscription is almost illegible, but runs thus—

Sacred ...
MR. JOHN ... ARKES CAIRD
Boatswain
of ... C. Hon'ble Compy's Marine
who departed this life on
the 2nd September 1800
Aged 24 years
...ta... of esteem this Stone has
been erected
...oluntary subscriptions of
His free ...
Having served with him
virtue ...
His manly abilities.



Members' Note Book.



SINCE Mr. Corfield's article was in print the Editor has received from a member of our Society, Mr. George Lyell, an article reprinted from the *Hampshire Chronicle*. Mr. J. C. Lyell resided in Calcutta from 1865 to 1872 and Mr. George Lyell from 1868 to 1899, and is still, although at Home, connected with Messrs. Macneill & Co.

In the *Oriental Linguist*, or some other of the numerous educational works that were published in Calcutta from 1787 and onwards, by John Borthwick Gilchrist, LL.D., the following translation may be found. He refers to it as a happy rendering of the well-known ode by Hafiz, "Taru bu taru, Nou bu nou," so popular with the nautch girls in India :—

Songster sweet, begin the lay,
Ever new and ever gay :
Bring the joy inspiring wine,
Ever fresh and ever fine.

With a heart alluring lass,
Gaily let the moments pass,
Kisses stealing while you may,
Ever fresh and ever gay.

Gentle boy whose silver feet,
Nimbly move to cadence sweet,
Fill us quick the generous wine,
Ever fresh and ever fine.

How enjoy life's tedious hours
Without wine's seducing powers ?
These will make them pass away,
Ever new and ever gay.

To me the sweet enchanting maid
Devoteth charms that never fade,
Charms to inspire her poet's song,
Ever fair and ever young.

Zephyrs while ye gently move,
By the mansions of my love,
Softly Hafiz' strains repeat,
Ever new and ever sweet.

The *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, which succeeded the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* (1818-33), began in 1833 and ran for one hundred monthly numbers. I possess three volumes of

extracts from it, not bound up in order of publication, but apparently anyhow. Some one evidently preserved only the articles which interested him. J. H. Stocqueler, Editor of the *Calcutta Englishman*, conducted this magazine. In one of the articles "Recollections of Fishing in the Nerbudda," the following lines are recited by one of the fishermen, and a note to this effect is printed at foot of the page: "This song appeared originally in the M.U.M. (*Misrat United Magazine*?) and was written by a talented, but eccentric being since dead."

DEATH SONG OF THE MANILLA.

In a land more blest than the stormy West
In the loveliest realm of the earth,
'Mid the sunshiny smiles of the Philippine Isles,
I received my lowly birth.

I grew apace, like a plant of grace,
Beneath a cherishing sky—
'Till a tyrant's doom, cut me off in my bloom,
And hung me out to dry.

Full soon I faded, by earth unaided,
And rift from my parent root—
I was press'd and dipp'd—I was roll'd and clipp'd
And then I became a cheroot.

In a wooden cave, like an Afric slave,
Immured with hundreds more—
We never saw light, by day or night,
'Till we reach'd proud India's shore.

On the sultry strand of that stranger land,
My brethren were set with me—
Releas'd from jail, and exposed for sale
In lots of thirty and three.

By a son of the West whose pitiless breast
Ne'er heeded a captive's sigh,
We were bought, and then, imprison'd again,
Let hither at last to die.

And now thy breath, like the wind of death,
Which sweeps o'er Arabia's plains,
Will cause a flame, to consume my frame,
Till nothing but dust remains.

I bequeath no ill, to the hand that kills—
But my redolent fume of love
I still bestow, as this world of woe,
I leave for the clouds above.

No sculpture solemn, nor urn, nor column,
May mark where my ashes lie;
But o'er earth and air, shall the free wind bear
Such parts as are doom'd to die.

Like the Saints of old, I'm condemn'd and sold,
To death through suffering driven—
And I passed with a smile, from my funeral pile,
To become a bright cloud in heaven !

On a morning in July 1859 in the sultry rainy season, after my early ride on the Calcutta Maidan, I was sitting in the verandah of my house in Chowringhee reading the *Englishman* when I observed in it the following :—

A CURIOUS RELIC OF OLD CALCUTTA.

Within the last few days a tombstone has been disinterred in the old settlement graveyard (St. John's) in Calcutta, bearing this inscription :—

" Here lyes the body of Joseph Townshend
Pilot of the Ganges
Skillful and Industrious :
A Kind Father and a useful friend, who departed
this life
The 26th June 1738.
Aged 84 years.

I've slipped my cable—messmates, I'm dropping down with tide ;
I have my sailing orders, while ye at anchor ride
And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.

An Ashburnham ! A Fairfax ! Hark, how the cornets ring !
Why are the blacksmiths out to-day, beating those men at the spring ?
Ho, Willie, Hob, and Cuddie !—Bring out your boats amain,
There's a great red pool to swim them o'er, yonder in Deadman's Lane.

Nay, do not cry, sweet Katie—only a month afloat,
And then the ring and the parson, at Fairlight Church, my doat ;
The flower-strewn path—the press gang !—no, I shall never see,
Her little grave, where the daisies wave, in the breeze on Fairlight Lee.

" Shoulder to shoulder, Joe, my boy—into the crowd like a wedge ;
" Out with your hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge ! "
Cries Charnock—" Scatter the faggots ! Double that Brahmin in two,
" The tall, pale widow is mine, Joe—the little brown girl's for you."

" Young Joe (you're nearing sixty), why is your hide so dark,
Katie was fair, with soft, blue eyes—who blackened yours ? Why, hark !
The morning gun ! Ho, steady. The arquebuse to me—
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart, as my lead doth sound the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide ;
Moor me close to Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride ;
My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you.
Steady ! we steer for Heavens through scud-drifts cold and blue.

St. John's Churchyard being on my way into the city, I went into it to see this newly-discovered tombstone, and found it set up against Job Charnock's Mausoleum. The

inscription, finely lettered, was in relief if I remember rightly, and the stone had an ornamental border, in the form of a cable, going round it; but the verses which I had expected to see were not on it.

According to the *Bengal Observatory* (1843) the monuments in this graveyard had become much decayed before 1802, and were then taken down, being in a dangerous condition, when the stones and marble tablets were carefully removed and placed near Charnock's tomb. Probably, at that time, the old pilot's headstone had already, by accumulating vegetation and soil, gone below the surface, not unusual in old graveyards. I then went to the office of the *Englishman* and was informed by Captain Geo. Feawick, who was Editor, that the author of the verses was Dr. Nathaniel Chevers of the Medical Establishment. The late Sir Joseph Fayrer referred to him as a man of erudition and experience, famous alike as a physician, a medical jurist, and an antiquarian, a man of wide and varied culture, and of a most amiable disposition. In a book published some years ago, "The Light that Failed," by Kipling, a few of these verses are given, but not correctly. The pilot reached an age but rarely attained by Europeans in Bengal, for then, and long after, Fort William, as Calcutta was then called, was considered a white man's grave. Others who lived as long were Mrs. Frances Johnson (the Begum), who died in Calcutta in 1812 at 86, and Captain Cudbert Thornhill, who was Master Attendant of the Port, who died in 1809 at 85. Warren Hastings left Calcutta in 1785, when 52 years of age, and lived till he was 85. Captain John Mills survived the horrors of the Black Hole in 1756 and died in London in 1811. He may have been over 80. He married Mrs. Vincent, a well-known actress.

The hymn "The Happy Land," so popular in Sunday Schools, was written in 1838 by a Mr. Young of Edinburgh, who died in 1882. It is an instance of the adaptation of a secular song to a religious purpose. The simple air to which it is sung is that to which the song was sung, and I believe it is of Indian origin. At the time of Mr. Young's death the following facts were elicited by correspondents in a Scottish newspaper. Long before 1838 the following song used to be sung in music schools in Scotland. The words were said to be by W. Kennedy, Esq., music by R. A. Smith (died 1839) —

THE HINDU DANCING GIRL'S SONG.

I have come from a happy land,
Where care is unknown;
I have parted a merry band,
To make thee mine own.
Haste! haste! fly with me,
Love's banquet waits for thee;
Thine all its sweets shall be,
Thine, thine alone.

The summer has its heavy cloud,
The rose leaf will fall;
But in our home, joy wears no shroud,
Never does it pall.
Each new morning ray
Brings no sigh for yesterday;
No smile passed away
Would we recall.

Then hence to this happy land,
 Where care is unknown ;
 But first in a joyous band,
 I'll make thee mine own.
 Haste ! haste ! fly with me,
 Love's banquet waits for thee ;
 Thine all its sweets shall be,
 Thine, thine alone.

Whether this song was entirely Kennedy's own, or adapted or translated by him from something else, is not known ; and, although not written in India, I consider it suitable for introduction here and well worth preservation.

J. C. LYELL.

ST. CROSS MEAD, WINCHESTER.
 12th February, 1908.

MR. K. N. DHAR, B.A., of the Imperial Library, sends through Mr. E. W. Madge the following note :—

My attention has been drawn to a remarkable article in the *Pioneer* of the 20th January last headed "Monumental Ignorance" and signed "G.M.C." It is a biographical sketch of Lieutenant-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart. Its six columns present perhaps the best "life" of the General that has ever been written for no separate biography of him exists. There is one passage in "G.M.C.'s" excellent article to which exception may possibly be taken. He observes that "the only portrait extant" of Ochterlony is Bishop Heber's description of him as "a tall and pleasing old man, but so wrapped in shawls, kincub, fur, and a Mogul furred cap that his face was all that was visible."

Now, as a matter of fact, an excellent miniature of his did exist ; it was copied by the late Mr. Colesworthy Grant, the well-known Calcutta artist, and appears along with his other lithographic sketches in a bound volume which may be seen in the Imperial Library. An oil-painting of Ochterlony was presented by his nephew, the present Baronet, for the Victoria Memorial Collection, and another oil-painting by a native artist hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Moreover, an equestrian portrait of Ochterlony used to hang in the Begum Sumroo's palace at Sardhana. It was by a European artist who flourished up the country some time before the Mutiny—perhaps Melville, or may be Beechey. The portrait was afterwards secured for Government House at Allahabad. This last fact is borne out by Mr. H. G. Keene in his recent work *Hindustan under Freelanders*.

Quite apart from this, there is a story told about Bishop Heber avoiding entering the camp of the gallant old General on suspicion of the presence

there of an Indian lady. In this connection the question arises, was she not legally married to him by Mahomedan rites? At any rate she designated herself his widow. I learn from Mr. E. W. Madge, the writer of an article entitled "When Generals married Begums," that a person known as Maharik-ul-Nissa Begum described herself as the widow of General Ochterlony, on her "remarriage" about 1833 to a native of Delhi. Neither *Burke* nor *Debrett* mentions Ochterlony's marriage; and on his death the baronetcy went to his nephew, Sir Charles Metcalfe Ochterlony. Among the first lads sent from Kalimpong to England by the Marine Society of India year before last was one named John Ochterlony, who is a grand-nephew of the "monumental" hero, being (as is believed) a son of Ross Wilkie Ochterlony of the Tingling Tea Co., Darjeeling. This gentleman was the third son of the second Baronet and died on 14th January 1900, at Calcutta, where he is buried in the Scottish Cemetery, Kuryah.

MR. KAMARHYA MOHON BANERJEE, of Barisha, sends the following note regarding the earliest mention of Calcutta in Bengali literature and (what is perhaps more interesting) the origin of the name Chowringhee:—

1. Perhaps one of the first mention of the name of Calcutta in old Bengali literature, is in Kabikankan Mukundaram's Chandi. Mukundaram is said to have flourished some time in the sixteenth century A.D. and is one of the classic Bengali poets. The hero of his poem, Chandi Kabya, sails in search of his father to Ceylon,—through the river,—the poet incidentally mentions the names of all the celebrated places in the banks of the river which he had to pass. Calcutta was then not in a flourishing condition—but Kalighat was. The course of the river was very different from what it is at the present time. In going to the Bay of Bengal one had to pass from Calcutta to Kalighat thence to Ballaghata and thence through the old course of the river. There is no mention of the English settlers in the poem,—but there is a word "Haramad" in connection with the river pirates,—which is very probably a corruption of the Spanish word "Armada."

2. Writers have differed about the derivation of the name of "Chowringhee,"—but none of them have arrived at any conclusion. The latest suggestion—which is also a borrowed one—is in Mr. Cotton's *Calcutta, Past and Present*;—but I have never heard of the word "Cherangi,"—which Mr. Cotton thinks to be the origin of "Chowringhee," nor do I think there is any word equivalent to it in the Sanskrit, Prakrita or Bengali languages.

As to the origin of the name "Chowringhee," I think that no Indian writer will differ from me if I suggest that the word Chowringhee is a corruption of "Chowranghee" which means a sect of ascetics. Many of the old inhabitants of Calcutta may remember to have noticed an old shrine of



S. W. CORNER OF MAXIE CHAND'S CAMPING GROUNDS
ON THE DIAMOND HARBOUR ROAD.
(Photo by the Rev. Walter E. Plantagen.)

"Shiva" just to the south of the present Presidency Jail, in latter years the Hindu sepoy used to worship in this place. In former days worship at this temple was entrusted to an ascetic who came from one of the ten sects of the celebrated ascetic, and styled himself a "Chowranghee," it is very probable that the name of Chowringhee was derived from him. The vernacular spelling of the word is the same as that of the ascetic sect and there is nothing more to show that "Chowringhee" has a different derivation. The abovementioned sects of ascetics were named after the ten followers of Sankara. It is also noteworthy that amongst the present day ascetics a "Chowranghee" is very seldom found.

Here is a list of several places of interest amongst many lying in the southern outskirts of Calcutta :—

1. No. 57, Diamond Harbour Road. In this house Dost Mahomed Khan of Kabul was kept as a state prisoner when he was brought down to Calcutta. Dost Mahomed was the first ruling potentate outside India who was made a state prisoner here during the British period. The house is better known to the Indians as the "Kaman Pota Barec" from the two canons in front of the gateway. This house was afterwards presented to the ex-King of Oudh by the Government, but somehow or other it passed through several hands before it came to its present owners.

2. Dewan Manik Chand's Garden. Situated also on the Diamond Harbour Road, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Government House. It is not generally known that Suraj-ud-daula was not directly responsible for the atrocious Black Hole; it was one of his ministers who was responsible for the inhuman act and this minister was Dewan Manik Chand. While Calcutta was besieged by the Nawab, Manik Chand was encamping in this Garden; and from his camp he issued orders to keep the English prisoners in close confinement till daybreak and produce them before the Nawab Nasim. The result is well known. The Rev. J. Long refers to this spot in his *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government* (Vol. I., p. 296). Manick Chand "had a fine country seat near Byeala (Behala) on the Diamond Harbour Road, the remains of which are still to be seen."

3. Ram Nath Mundle's Temple, in Mouza Meherpore, but better known as Old Tollygunge, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of Alipore Collectorate. This beautiful temple was built in European architectural style over a century ago. The temple is one of the finest and largest in lower Bengal (enlisted on the Government list of Monuments and Temples).

4. Karuna Mayee Kali. A cluster of old temples, some of which are nearly three to four centuries old and an ancient idol of Kali, on the western bank of Adiganga, just another opposite side of the Canal and the grounds owned by the Tollygunge Club. The present owner of the temples is Babu

Tara Kumar Roy Chawdhury of Barisha. Babu Protap Chandra Ghosha, formerly Registrar of Insurances, in his well-known book the "Bangadhipa Parajaya or the defeat of the King of Bengal," says that this Kali was founded by Raja Basanta Ray, uncle of Protapaditya of Jessore fame. It has also been asserted by historians that the Portuguese Rodda, an Admiral of Protapaditya, defeated the Mogul armies in a naval engagement which is said to have been fought on the confluence of Adiganga and Vidyadhari—somewhere near the Kali founded by Basanta Ray. It may be that this naval engagement was fought near this place, where the Adiganga meets the Vidyadhari. It is very probable that the armies of Akbar was proceeding by river in search of Protapaditya to his capital Jessore (not the present Jessore) when he was encountered by the Viking (then serving as an Admiral) Rodda lying in ambush somewhere in a place which was then in the possession of the Ray Kings of Jessore.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., the Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present* visited these places on the 20th February last, and so it may be expected that the historical interest attaching to the above places will now be more widely appreciated.

WITH reference to the building occupied by the Doveton College, which the School has now received notice to vacate, "FITZWALTER" writes to the *Statesman*, under date 26th March 1908, as follows:—I beg leave to submit that the statement in your issue of date, that the Doveton College premises have been occupied by that institution since 1823, is not correct. The house was originally the residence of Sir John Royds, Judge of the Supreme Court, after whom Royd (properly "Royds") Street is named. But at the time when the Parental Academy (now Doveton College) was opened, and for several years afterwards, the building was a young ladies' seminary kept by a Miss Thornton. The latter school was well known in its day, and here, among others, the daughters of General Sir Gabriel Martindell, K.C.B., received their education. On the other hand, the old "Parental" was first opened at a house then numbered 11, Park Street; it next removed to Wellington Square, East; again, in 1829, to No. 7, Park Street (afterwards occupied by the Mathematical Instrument Department), and then lastly to the present house in Free School Street. But that was not until 1839. I may add that these early migrations of the School are all mentioned in the History of the Doveton College by the late Mr. H. Andrews. In conclusion: Is the Doveton "the oldest Anglo-Indian School in Calcutta?" Surely that honour belongs to the Free School!

AT the annual distribution of prizes at the Khelat Chandra Institution on the 3rd March, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who

presided on the occasion, made a graceful reference to a member of our Executive Committee. After a dramatic representation by some of the boys, Sir Andrew Fraser observed that there had been one or two features which had given him some special pleasure. He was glad that the hand of Mr. [W. C.] Madge was working amongst them in the play which was so very well performed on the stage. He had very great pleasure to find the great moral lesson, which the play communicated, in so pleasant a manner, to so many young people. The play was entitled "The Wanderer's Return," and was based on the Parable of the Prodigal Son.

THE following letter has been addressed by the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot (the premier Earl of England) to a member of our Executive Committee:—

INGESTRE, STAFFORD, 16th February, 1908.

DEAR SIR,—I write to thank you for the photograph, which you have kindly sent to my Secretary, of the monument in Calcutta to the memory of my maternal grandfather. I am glad to have it, and am very much obliged to you.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SHREWSBURY AND TALBOT.

E. W. MADGE, ESQ.

The monument in question is a lofty pillar to the memory of Commander Richard Howe Cockerell, R.N., who died in 1839, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta. The photograph was one of several others recently taken by Mr. Silas A. Peris.

IN the October Number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (p. 202) appears the following note from Dr. Busteed:—

In Mackrabie's diary, I remember seeing this entry: it occurs when speaking of the card-playing at "Barasutt" February 1776:—

"Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses and rode or walked to an octagon Summer House built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert, who was the husband of Lady Hyde. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks, flowering shrubs and gardens. The ashes of that gentleman (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building."

Is there anything known or traceable about these names, that structure or that deposit under it?

In an article entitled "Baraset: the Sandhurst of Bengal," which appeared in the *Journal* of the 7th July 1907, "K. N. D." wrote: "At a place about 4 miles to the north-east of the Railway Station is a big tank known as 'Madhumurali' extending over about 200 bighas of land. It is said to

have been excavated about 300 years ago by two brothers, Madhu and Murali by name, who were merchants. On the south-east corner of the tank, situated on its high bank, is a pillar about 20 feet high overgrown with jungle. Could this possibly be the tomb of Mr. Louis Bonnard, the Indigo planter, who is said to have had his factory here to the north-west of the tank? The remains of a building consisting of 30 or 40 rooms, also overgrown with rank vegetation point to the site of the old factory. On the south-west corner of the tank is a *hanj*—an octagonal building measuring about 15 feet and consisting of four doors—which served as the Summer House of the planters and is known as the *hetoakhana*. The structure is about 20 feet high and is fast falling into ruin, the roof having already given way. Here is something which the C.H.S. might take note of."

We continue to be indebted to Miss Perry of Barrackpore on this occasion for an old song, quite unknown to the present generation and not procurable anywhere nowadays. Taken from a forgotten English opera, there is scarcely anything particular about either words or air. It is just a sentimental ballad of the Haynes Bayly School, such as used to be sung in our grandmothers' drawing-rooms. And seventy years ago it used to be popular with Calcutta audiences as a favourite *encore* song of Mrs. Esther Leach, by whom it is even said to have been sung, during an interval, on the night of 2nd November, 1843, when that charming but ill-starred actress was burnt on the boards of the old *Sans-Souci*. Here are the words beginning at the title-page:—"And Canst Thou Bid My Heart Forget?"—Elinor's Song from "Glenarvon." Sung by Madame Vestris, etc., with enthusiastic applause at the London and Bath Concerts. Composed by R. J. Klose. Leoni Levi, Music-Seller to the Royal Family, London.

And canst thou bid my heart forget
What once it loved so well—
That look, that smile, when first we met,
That last, that sad farewell!
Ah no! by every pang I've proved,
By every fond regret,
I feel, tho' I no more am loved,
I never can forget.

I wished to see that face again,
Although 'twere changed to me,
I thought it not such maddening pain
As ne'er to look on thee.
But oh! 'twas torture to my breast
To meet thine altered eye,
To see thee smile on all the rest,
Yet coldly pass me by!



JETHANGANI TEMPLE—SOULTAGLAWA.
(Photo by A. G. Coxon, Esq.)

MR. S. A. PERRIS (of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co.), who has recently joined our Society, accompanied a few members to the Park Street Cemeteries one morning last cold weather, and took several photographs of interesting monuments there. One of these was a marble column over the grave of Master Gilbert Elliot who died in 1827, aged 7½ years. Mr. Perris sent a copy to the Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy for submission to His Excellency, along with a few other photographs intended for the Private Secretary himself, and has received the following gratifying acknowledgment:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

CALCUTTA,

11 February 1903.

DEAR SIR,—I submitted your letter of the 29th January and the photograph of the tomb in Park Street Cemetery to the Viceroy. I am directed to convey His Excellency's cordial thanks to you for your kind attention. Master Gilbert Elliot, whose tomb it is, was the son of John Elliot who was Private Secretary to his father when the latter was Governor-General in Calcutta. He was in the East India Company's service and lived to a good old age. The Viceroy remembers him very well.

I have also to acknowledge with many thanks the photographs which you sent for me. I am so very overworked that I have not yet been able to afford the time to attend any meeting of the Historical Society or to accompany them on their trips, so these photographs are all the more interesting to me.

To

S. A. PERRIS, ESQ.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. DUNLOP-SMITH.



NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907-8.
Hare, The Hon. Sir Lancelot, L. G.	<i>E. B. & Arman</i>	16th July
Brown, Harry	<i>Burn & Co., 7, Hastings Street</i>	4th Nov.
Thurston, John W.	<i>102, Cline Street</i>	5th "
Champlin, Cyril	<i>Mercantile Bank</i>	7th "
Mitchell, Jas. C.	<i>Mercantile Bank</i>	7th "
Leslie, W.	<i>2, Chauranghee Road</i>	14th "
Cotton, C. W. E., I.C.S.	<i>Bengal Club</i>	15th "
Gosling, F.	<i>German Imperial Consulate, 5, Theatre Road</i>	22nd "
Calvocoressi, M. J.	<i>Messrs. Kallit Brothers</i>	22nd "
Harwood, Col. F. M. O.	<i>United Service Club</i>	22nd "
Shakespear, Lt. Col. J.	<i>Political Agent, Manipur, Imphal-Aizam</i>	22nd "
Smith, G. H.	<i>Fort Chunar, U. P.</i>	27th "
Raymond, Miss K.	<i>La Martinieres Girls' School</i>	29th "
Graves, Henry G.	<i>United Service Club</i>	30th "
Murshidabad, H. H. The Nawaab Bahadur	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i>	1st Dec.
Stewart, F. W.	<i>40 Gladstone Wylie & Co.</i>	4th "
Dunbar, L. G.	<i>Bank of Bengal</i>	4th "
Spink, T. W.	<i>in Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.</i>	5th "
Mazumdar, P. C.	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i>	14th "
Fazl Rubbee, Khan Bahadur	<i>Dewan of Murshidabad</i>	14th "
Bayley, C. B., M.V.O.	<i>Writers' Buildings</i>	1st January.
Careless, Rex. W. E.	<i>Howrah Passenger</i>	1st "
Manook, J.	<i>9, Sheet Street</i>	27th "
Hartley, E. R.	<i>Mercantile Bank</i>	31st "
Dowbiggin, H. B. L.	<i>Mercantile Bank</i>	31st "
Harris, A. E.	<i>5, Park Street</i>	31st "
Crichton, J. R.	<i>40 Messrs. Sinclair Murray & Co.</i>	31st "
Johnstone, J. C. R.	<i>11, Hastings Street</i>	1st Feb.
Nasir Ali Mirza, Prince	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i>	1st "
Mumford, G. B., I.C.S.	<i>Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Geridih</i>	12th "
Bingley, Lt.-Col. A. H.	<i>Magistrate's House, Howrah</i>	18th "
Manmatha Nath Moity	<i>Scramfere</i>	18th "
Kotthaus, Robt.	<i>40 F. W. Heigens & Co., 136, Canning Street</i>	5th March.
La Touche, T. H. D.	<i>Geological Survey of India, 27, Chauranghee</i>	15th "



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